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ABSTRACT

In an attempt to identify generalizable features of professional development programs for faculty, the California State University and Colleges system set out in 1974 to develop and test on a local basis, several models of professional development. A systemwide Center for Professional Development was established to facilitate and monitor the various models. Nine CSUS campuses have such programs that utilize a variety of strategies and mechanisms to foster faculty and institutional renewal. Since one element of knowledge needed to effectively evaluate programs of professional development is increased understanding of faculty motivation, this study reports on hypotheses, data, and interpretations that should serve as the beginning of a theoretical and empirical approach to faculty development in the CSUC system. (Author/LBH)

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FACULTY MOTIVATION:

WORKING PAPERS
AND
REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

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FACULTY MOTIVATION: WORKING PAPERS AND REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

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FOREWORD

During this decade, members of the American higher education community have witnessed some rather profound changes within their working milieu. The professorial life is, quite simply, different than it was ten years ago. Individuals working in colleges and universities first suspected and now certainly know that the "Halls of Ivy" cultural myth, as good and seductive as it is, no longer reflects a legitimate reality. The changes within the college milieu are reflected in decreased faculty mobility, increased instructional accountability, and an accompanying re-examination of the skills and attitudes that an effective college teacher needs.

In response to these conditions, considerable energy and attention recently have been directed toward the professional development of faculty. The faculty development movement in the United States has received national attention because of its attempt to assist faculty to become better teachers. Unfortunately, the theoretical underpinnings are absent in this emerging and vital field. It is not possible to evaluate or understand the nature of such programs or the nature of alternative models of faculty development that might be as effective without a theoretical or empirical framework.

At the center of most professional development programs is the attempt to encourage faculty members to take some responsibility for their own renewal. Programs to bring this about necessarily vary from campus to campus: however, the basic problems or barriers are similar. In an attempt to identify generalizable features of professional development programs, the California State University and Colleges

system set out in 1974 to develop and test on a local basis, several models of professional development. A system-wide Center for Professional Development was established in the Office of the Chancellor to facilitate and monitor the various models. Currently, nine CSUC campuses have professional development programs which utilize a variety of strategies and mechanisms to foster faculty and institutional renewal.

Clearly, one element of knowledge needed to effectively evaluate programs of professional development is increased understanding of faculty motivation. It was in response to this need that the study reported here was commissioned. It is not intended that this document should serve only to highlight aspects of faculty motivation. Rather, it is hoped that the hypotheses, data, and interpretations contained herein will serve as the beginning of a theoretical and empirical approach to faculty development in the CSUC system: the approach heretofore has been chiefly heuristical.

David H. Ost, Director
Center for Professional Development

FACULTY MOTIVATION:

AN INTRODUCTION

A question frequently asked of practitioners in the emerging field of faculty development is: "How do you motivate faculty?" Sometimes, this question is stated with greater precision: "How do you motivate faculty to try something new in the classroom?" or "How do you motivate faculty to participate in a professional development program?" Regardless of the level of precision with which the question is asked, the answer must necessarily be rather vague and ill-founded with reference to tangible insights into the vital sources of motivation for faculty.

Those who are actively involved in the design and implementation of faculty development programs do not have access to either a significant amount of information about faculty motivation or to a comprehensive theoretical model by which the information we do have can be systematically organized. We have written two working papers which hopefully will move us closer to both goals. The first working paper will review the major theories of human motivation, attempt to show the implications of these theories for an understanding of faculty motivation, and provide a tentative model of faculty motivation based on these theories. The second working paper will summarize the information that is currently available concerning faculty motivation, specifically as it relates to the California State University and Colleges. A third working paper contains a list of hypotheses concerning faculty motivation that have been derived from the previously reviewed theories and research. A fourth working paper is an annotated bibliography of the major works that are currently available in the area of faculty motivation (as well as a number of more general works concerning human motivation). Hopefully, these working papers will provide useful insights for both the practitioner of faculty development, who needs concrete information about faculty, and the researcher,

who assumes the challenging task of finding out more about faculty motivation.

In proceeding with this study we have made several critical assumptions and have limited our exploration in several important ways. First, we have assumed that our readers are faculty development practitioners or researchers whose primary interest is higher education rather than motivation; our task is not to create a new theory of motivation or even to exhaustively or critically review the existing theories, but rather to apply several existing theories of human motivation to the task of understanding faculty motivation. Hence, the working papers will necessarily treat complex and controversial theories in a seemingly superficial and certainly cursory manner. We recognize this complexity and controversy and have cited other works that provide enlightened treatment of a specific model or research issue. We are primarily interested in the applicability of each model to the understanding of faculty, rather than in the ultimate validity of any model as a general theory of human motivation.

Secondly, we are limiting our perspective on human motivation by admitting to a "cognitive" bias in the examination of intrinsic human motivation factors, and to a "systems" bias in examining extrinsic motivational factors. More specifically, we are beginning with the assumption that one need not be concerned with an explanation concerning why a faculty member is active or inactive, or how to make a faculty member active (a "drive" theory of motivation), but rather with explaining why a faculty member is active or inactive with reference to a specific direction or action, i.e. a specific type of behavior, area of work, professional growth goal, life aspiration, etc. (a "cognitive" theory of motivation)(cf. Weigner, 1972, p. 2).

We are also primarily interested in the impact on faculty of the complex and interacting social systems in which they place themselves or find themselves at any one point in time. If attention is focused on isolated environmental variables (e.g. financial

rewards, office space or release time), without viewing these variables in interaction and in a systemic context, then a distorted perspective on faculty motivation is assured.

Third, we will be limiting our investigation to the role played by faculty as teachers, giving only secondary attention to faculty as researchers, committee members, etc. We will not ignore these other roles, for they have a significant impact on the performance of faculty as teachers, but we will not treat the motivational bases of these other roles in isolation, but rather in conjunction with the motivational bases of the instructional role.

Finally, we have made several assumptions concerning acceptable definitions of motivation. We begin by recognizing that the term "motivation" is an epistemological nightmare. Some would apply Occam's Razor and eliminate "motivation" as a term which serves no useful, explanatory purpose. Others would define motivation primarily in terms of learning, in terms of behavior, or in terms of adequacy of performance. We suggest that "motivation" is best used to describe the intrinsic and extrinsic forces (stimuli, needs, values, environmental factors, etc.) that determine or at least influence the choices which one makes between alternative behaviors (or, at a more complex level, between alternative interpersonal relationships, projects, occupations, institutions, social systems, etc.).

We are assuming that human motives which are of interest to us, in the context of examining faculty motivation, are those which influence decisions, rather than those which more directly determine behavior (hunger, thirst, sex, noxious stimuli, etc.). We are just as concerned with the way in which an externally-based motivating stimulus (e.g. paycheck) is interpreted, as with the presence of the stimulus itself. Thus motivation is interpreted by us as a <u>perceptual</u> process, as much as an energizing process, and as a process which influences <u>decisions</u>, as much as it determines behaviors.

With these assumptions in mind, we will proceed to an examination of several theories of human motivation from the perspective

of our primary goal: to achieve increased understanding of the nature and dynamics of motives that influence faculty in their professional performance as collegiate instructors.

A SELECTIVE ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF FACULTY MOTIVATION

Section I: General Theories of Human Motivation

A. Intrinsic-Trait Theories

1. Murray, H. Explorations in Personality. New York: Oxford University Press, 1938.

In a classic study of personality, Henry Murray describes the dynamics of motivational states in terms of the interaction between the needs of an individual and the supportive or hindering nature (press) of the environment in which the individual lives. As a means of understanding the nature of this interaction, Murray developed an elaborate taxonomy of both needs and presses. More than any other aspect of his theoretical work, the need taxonomy has remained influential and relevant to the present time.

The Murray taxonomy, unfortunately, is somewhat static in nature, for it does not provide us with a clear idea about which needs are particularly critical for certain types of activities, or which needs are dependent upon the fulfillment of other needs. Several other need taxonomies do provide this type of hierarchy: Maslow, Ardrey and Schultz.

2. Atkinson,J.(Ed.) Motives in Fantasy, Action and Society. Princeton: Van Nostrand, 1958.

Atkinson, J. An Introduction to Motivation. Princeton: Van Nostrand, 1964.

McClelland D., et al. The Achievement Motive. New York: Appleton-Century, 1953.

McClelland, D. (Ed.) Studies in Motivation. New York: Appleton-Century, 1955.

Weiner, B. "New Conceptions in the Study of Achievement Motivation" in B. Maher (Ed.), Progress in Experimental Personality Research, Vol. 5. New York: Academic Press, 1970, pp. 67-109.

Weiner, B. Theories of Motivation. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1972.

The term "need achievement" has been used by Atkinson to describe situations in which a person knows that his/her performance will be evaluated by himself and/or others in terms of some standard of excellence and that the consequences of this performance will be either a favorable (success) or unfavorable (failure) evaluation. Apparently, individuals who exhibit high need achievement--usually as measured by responses to a highly unstructured "projective" test (the Thematic Apperception Test)--are more likely to take pride in accomplishments when success is possible than is the low need achiever. Furthermore, those persons who score low on need achievement tests tend to be more motivated by a fear of failure than by a tendency to seek and enjoy success. Consequently, motivation tends to be enhanced following failure and decreased following success among those individuals who are achievement-oriented; whereas motivation is inhibited following failure and enhanced following success among individiauls who are low in need achievement.

In order for need achievement to be an influential motive, several social conditions must be met: (1) the individual must consider himself/herself responsible for the outcome (success or failure), (2) there must be explicit knowledge of results so that he/she can determine when he/she has succeeded, and (3) there must be some degree of risk concerning the possibility of success. Under these conditions, the person who expresses high need for achievement will tend to select a task that is challenging, i.e., that holds some prospect of failure. He/she will show "a preference for intermediate risk" and "a realistic level of aspiration." Conversely, the person who is dominated by fear of failure will show a low level of aspiration. He/she will select a task that can easily be performed. Furthermore, the high need achiever will be more likely to persist at a task following initial failure than will the low need achiever.

Need achievement seems to be a particularly important influence on the behavior of faculty in their professional lives and particularly in the classroom. On the one hand, college faculty, like most professionals with advanced degrees, are part of a highly competitive milieu in which many highly talented people are vying for a few, often ambiguously-rewarded prizes (e.g., a book, grant, award, salary). The achievement-oriented faculty member will tend to value this milieu and will actively seek its rewards. He/she will tend to avoid activities in which success can be neither clearly assessed nor adequately rewarded--such as classroom instruction. The low need achiever, on the other hand, will tend to avoid any risky situation. He/she will probably either engage in low risk research or retreat to the classroom, viewing it not as a challenging setting but rather as a shelter.

3. Maslow, A. Motivation and Personality, New York: Harper and Row, 1954.

Ardrey, R. The Territorial Imperative. New York: Atheneum, 1966.

Abraham Maslow proposes a now well-known hierarchy of motives that begins with basic physiological (food, water, etc.) and safety needs. If and when these needs are satisfied, various social needs become increasingly salient: belongingness, love, companionship, warmth. At the fourth level are those needs which are associated with esteem: thinking well of oneself and being well thought of by others. After the other needs are being met, the needs associated with self-actualization become dominant.

Self-actualization, a term which is borrowed from and probably is most articulately defined by Kurt Goldstein, refers in Maslow's theory to a cluster of attributes, such as being realistic (accepting oneself, other people and the natural world for what they are), spontaneous, problem-centered (rather than self-centered) and autonomous; retaining a fresh non-stereotyped perspective; establishing profound and intimate relationships with a few people; possessing democratic values and attitudes; and possessing creativity and nonconformity.

Ardrey offers an intriguing variation on the Maslow hierarchy. He suggests that people first need to meet security needs and void anxiety, then need to find stimulation and avoid boredom. At the top of Ardrey's hierarchy is the need for identity and avoidance of anonymity.

Three Maslow and Ardrey hierarchies seem to be appropriate to the study of faculty motivation. The life of an average college professor tends to be quite secure, in terms of basic needs for food, shelter and financial stability. Quite clearly, these needs do not dominate the faculty member's daily life, for the selection of a profession which is not high-paying, given the educational preparation that is required, must be attractive for other reasons. Conversely, given a relatively large increase in faculty salaries during the 1960's and 1970's, some new faculty may have been attracted to the teaching profession in part out of an interest in the pay scale and benefits being offered. Certainly, the movement toward collective bargaining in higher education will bring issues of security and fiscal reward more clearly to the forefront. Nevertheless, faculty would seem to be operating, in general, at levels above that of security in either Maslow's or Ardrey's hierarchy. Therefore, while financial incentives must be given serious attention in any study of faculty motivation, they must not dominate such a study.

Socially-oriented needs might be dominant in the professional lives of many faculty. In their role as teachers, faculty are working primarily in an interpersonal context. Rather than being in a person-machine or person-document interaction as is the case with many professionals, the faculty member is

constantly engaged in a classroom environment which contains many attractions of a social nature. A variety of social needs can probably be met in a satisfactory way by both faculty and students, e.g., need for recognition, control, and affiliation.

4. Schutz, W. FIRO: A Three-Dimensional Theory of Interpersonal Behavior. New York: Rinehart and Co., 1959.

William Schutz proposes a three-level model that is specifically applicable to interpersonal and small group settings. Schutz proposes that needs for inclusion in a relationship must first be met: Am I a member of this group? Have I made this person feel comfortable? Does this person want to be with me? The dominant concerns in a relationship or group will revolve around a second issue if the issue of inclusion is successfully resolved. This second issue is control: being in control, being certain where control resides, or being certain that no one is in control of the situation or relationship. At a third level, Schutz proposes the need for affection. He refers not just to sexuality and sentimentality, but also tenderness, openness (disclosure) and trust. Unless issues concerning both inclusion and control are resolved, the needs for affection will not be adequately met. Interpersonal relationships, according to Schutz, are built around an agenda that allows for the expression of all three needs.

B. Intrinsic-State Theories:

1. Freud, S. The Interpretation of Dreams (1st Ed., 1900). London: Hogarth Press, 1953.

Freud, S. "Repression" (1st Ed., 1906) in The Complete Psycological Works of Sigmund Freud. Vol XIV. London: Hogarth, 1957.

Freud, S. "Mourning and Melancholia" (1st Ed., 1917) in The Complete Works of Sigmund Freud. Vol XIV. London: Hogarth Press, 1957.

Freud, S., Beyond the Pleasure Principle (1st Ed., 1920) London: Hogarth Press, 1955.

Freud, S. The Ego and the Id. London: Hogarth Press, 1927.

Freud, S. Civilization and its Discontents (1st Ed., 1930). London: Hogarth Press, 1961.

Freud, S. The Problem of Anxiety. New York: Norton, 1936.

The ultimate source of most explanatory theories of human motivation resides in the writings of Sigmund Freud. His theories are significant in establishing the irrational nature of much human behavior and the origins of most significant human motivation in the interpersonal/developmental

issues of early childhood (parent-child relationships and sibling relationships). Possibly of even greater importance, Freud molded the very way in which most of us (theorists, researchers, practitioners) conceive of human motivation. Freud described a driving force or source of potential energy (libido) that expresses itself (catharsis) through a variety of intellectual mechanisms that are distinctively human in their complexity and flexibility: perception, memory, conceptualization, categorizing, etc. These seemingly rational, cognitive mechanisms are, according to Freud, formed in early childhood in response to the need for strict control over the motivating forces associated with the immediate gratification of primative needs and impulses. Though Freud is noted for his emphasis on irrational sources of motivation, he in fact devoted most of his attention to a description of these rational, cognitive mechanisms.

Freudian theory obviously should be applied with considerable sensitivity in the analysis of adult human motivation. There are several areas, however, which are clearly relevant for an understanding of faculty motivation. First, Freudian theory directs our attention to the "ghosts" (transference) in most important interpersonal relationships. Undoubtedly, many faculty conceive of their relationship to students in terms of their own current past relationships with parents and surrogate-parents (mentors, department chairpersons, older faculty, etc) or their own current role as parents. The relationship between the faculty member and his peers is undoubtedly also influenced and distored by these transferences. These transferences can become particularly powerful in those social systems in which there is an unequal distribution of power. Faculty may be attracted to teaching precisely because of the gratification derived from transference relationships. The faculty member, for example, who experiences the tight control of a highly authoritarian father or mother may find considerable gratification in tightly controlling the performance of his/her students in the classroom or even outside the classroom (in loco parentis).

An intensive study of faculty motivation might also reveal the importance of various defensive structures in explaining the drive of many faculty toward construction of a highly ordered and rational world. The very processes that are used to control primitive emotions and drives, i.e., perception, memory, etc., may serve the "secondary" function of meeting intellectual challenges. Ultimately, according to Freudian theory, these "secondary" functions become associated (cathected) with the primary function, thereby acquiring the same "driven" (often compulsive) quality as the initial need-gratifying behavior of the child.

Freud, A. The Ego and the Mechanisms of Defense. New York: International Universities Press, 1946.

Hartmann, H. Ego Psychology and the Problem of Adaptation. (1st Ed., 1939) New York: International Universities Press, 1958.

Kris, E. Psychoanalytic Explorations in Art. (1st Ed., 1934) New York: International Universities Press, 1952.

Reich, W. Character Analysis. (1st Ed., 1933) New York: Noonday Press, 1961.

White, R. "Motivation Reconsidered: The Concept of Competence" Psychological Review, 1959, 66, 297-333.

White, R. "Ego and Reality in Psychoanalytic Theory," Psychological Issues, 1963, Vol. III.

Witkin, H., et al. Psychological Differentiation. New York: Wiley, 1962.

The ego psychologists (especially Anna Freud) are noted for their detailed descriptions of various mechanisms of defense which are used to ward off the anxiety associated with images of immediate need gratification. At one extreme, ego psychologists describe defensive behavior that seems to be deeply imbedded in all aspects of the person's life. He seems to be dominated by the need for absolute control over himself and his environment. He exhibits behavior that is unchanging, hence highly predictable. His nonverbal (posture, tone of voice, etc.), as well as verbal, behavior conveys a guardedness that prevents this individual from achieving deep and satisfying interpersonal relationships.

Wilhelm Reich graphically labels this comprehensive defensiveness: "character armour." The faculty member who exhibits this type of defensiveness is, unfortunately, not rare. He/she functions with a fair amount of effectiveness in a collegiate setting, precisely because it is an environment which is highly ordered, yet tolerates a significant amount of deviance among its faculty (at least those who are tenured). It is only when this faculty member is exposed to personally- or institutionally-based pressures for change and increased flexibility that the strength and de-energizing qualities of this character armour become fully apparent. Certainly this is one dimension of faculty motivation that needs to be explored more fully, especially in the context of a faculty development program.

More typical in the ego psychologists' repertoire of defensive mechanisms are those that are situationally-based and that tend to be rather fluid. One defense rather easily replaces another as the environment changes or as the type and quantity of stress to which the individual is exposed changes. Among the defenses of this variety that have been frequently identified

and described are regression (adopting more primitive modes of thought, action or memory), repression (dismissal of disturbing memories or impulses toward action from consciousness), reaction-formation (the power of the repressed impulse is seen in an exaggeration of the opposite tendency), isolation (a disturbing impulse, thought or action is allowed access to consciousness, but without its associated emotionality), undoing (a specific act is done compulsively to nullify or abrogate a previous act), projection (unacceptable impulses, thoughts or actions are attributed to another person), denial (failure to recognize or admit the occurrence of a specific action), displacement (threatening impulses are refocused toward other parts of the body or toward other people that are less threatening) and rationalization (reinterpretation of actions to make them more compatible with self-image).

A rather extensive list of defenses has been enumerated to illustrate the wide variety of complex thoughts and behaviors that can be associated with defensive reactions to anxiety-producing impulses, thought or actions. The faculty member who is interested in (even absorbed in) teaching, in part may be using the occupation as an effective vehicle for the support and expression of one or more of these defensive mechanisms. The wide variety of teaching styles exhibited in the college classroom may reflect the wide variety of defenses that are available. The instructor, for example, who is constantly concerned with the performance of students, yet is not himself an active scholar, may be exhibiting projection. Conversely, the highly successful social scientist who demands objective and dispassionate analysis in the classroom may be meeting personal needs for isolation, displacement and/or rationalization. Unfortunately, while this latter type of defensive professor may be effective in working with some students (especially those who make use of similar defenses), he/she will rarely exhibit sufficient flexibility to be effective in working with a diversity of students. Furthermore, defensive behavior, over a long period of time, tends to be highly de-energizing, hence disruptive to professional performance.

Defensive behavior in the classroom also has implications for faculty development programs. Typically, the faculty development practitioner finds these faculty to be very resistant to any re-examination, by themselves or others, of their approach to teaching. The energy which is invested in this protective reaction is often of profound proportions, leading one to recognize the heavy, personal investment in the preservation of existing defenses. The faculty development practitioner is often confronted with the dilemma of either pushing harder with this type of faculty--thereby possibly opening up areas in which therapeutic treatment will be necessary--or letting the faculty member alone. Those faculty development programs which have been given the mission of "improving" or "motivating" inadequate faculty members will inevitably confront this issue and will have to actively

explore the relationship between defense mechanisms and instruction.

In their focus on defenses, the ego psychologists have described the ways in which cognitive processes can be destructive when driven by anxiety. These same mechanisms, however, can be used for highly productive and creative purposes. Several researchers from the ego psychological school, for instance, have focused on these mechanisms in studying different "cognitive styles" (Witkin, et al.; Gardner, et al.) that yield a rich variation in the way people perceive and operate in their physical and social environment.

In the area of creative behavior, Ernst Kris has defined a useful concept concerning the productive use of cognitive mechanisms: "regression in the service of the ego." In studies of creativity Kris has found that highly original works and highly abstract theories often are derived from or evaluated on the basis of primitive, perceptual processes. Some scientific and mathematical models of profound importance (e.g. Einstein's Theory of Relativity), for instance, were reportedly constructed on the basis of visual symmetry, sounds or even tastes. Some of the most dramatic and effective teachers may derive indirect (or even direct) gratification from "regressive" behavior in the classroom: e.g. they may become "showmen," thereby meeting childhood dreams of performance on the stage, or they may "play" with words, concepts, images or even the interaction between themselves and their students. Some of the most innovative modes of collegiate instruction (simulations, role playing, fantasy) require that faculty find gratification in many of the same behaviors that they frequently exhibited and enjoyed as children.

The ego psychologists' concern for the constructive use of processes that also produce and support defensive behavior arises from a third major theoretical contribution that this group has made: Hartmann has distinguished between motives or drives that are still closely linked with the needs and problems of childhood ("primary autonomy") and those which were initially derived from childhood needs and problems, but now function independently of these needs and problems ("secondary autonomy"). Certain forms of competitive behavior, for instance, may have been performed in childhood for adult or peer approval, as well as to help the child learn how to deal effectively with complex social settings. In adulthood, the same competitive behavior can be engaged, via games, role-playing and simulations, for other purposes, including stimulation, camaradere and further social learning.

In examining the motives of faculty it is essential to keep this distinction in mind, for while the origins of a motive may reside in childhood, it may be operating essentially autonomous of this source at the present time. The side benefits of certain behaviors from childhood may have become the dominant motivating

force in adulthood. The faculty member who originally decided to enter teaching, when an undergraduate, for instance, may have done so in order to model, and thereby gain approval from, a faculty member who reminds him of his father. The other motives associated with college teaching (social status, autonomy, intellectual stimulation, assistance in the achievement of young people, etc.) may have been of little importance at this time. As the undergraduate student, turned graduate student and faculty member, matures in his/her professional role, these other motives may become increasingly important, to the point that the faculty member is operating essentially autonomously of his original transference-based motive.

3. Erikson, E., Childhood and Society. New York: Norton, 1950.

Erikson, E., "Identity and the Life Cycle," Psychological Issues, 1959, Vol. I.

Erikson's eight stages of development are well-known, having been persuasively presented with the use of examples from anthropology, literature, psychobiography and psychoanalysis. The first four steps bear close resemblance to the Freudian psychosexual stages of development (oral, anal, phallic and latency), though they have been reconceived as interpersonally-oriented developmental tasks: (1) trust, (2) autonomy, (3) initiative and (4) industry. If these preliminary developmental tasks are not successfully achieved, then the child is left in a state of mistrust (rather than trust), doubt (rather than autonomy), guilt (rather than initiative) or inferiority (rather than industry), depending on the stage(s) where barriers to development are experienced. If the child is blocked at one of these four childhood stages, then the primary concerns associated with this stage will continue to dominate his/her adolescent and adult life. Frequently, in the collegiate environment, we can observe faculty who feel and express pervasive mistrust, doubt, guilt and/or inferiority. Furthermore, in many instances the collegiate environment tends to support and add substance to these feelings. Such a faculty member tends to consume large amounts of time and energy in confirming these feelings, while often simultaneously trying to overcome them.

The four adult stages of development identified by Erikson are: (5) identity, (6) intimacy, (7) generativity and (8) ego integrity. The first of these stages, identity, is highlighted by Erikson's concept of the "identity crisis"--a label which has been accepted in our popular culture to describe the stresses associated with the early years of adulthood. At the identity stage, according to Erikson emerging adults are: "primarily concerned with what they appear to be in the eyes of others compared with what they feel they are, and with the question of how to connect the roles and skills cultivated earlier with the occupational prototypes of the day." (1950, page 228) At this stage, Erikson finds that young adults often "overidentify" with the heroes of their reference group

or with a peer of the opposite sex, as a means of dealing with the anxiety associated with this transitional period. If the developmental task of defining an appropriate identity is not successfully accomplished then role diffusion will result, with an accompanying feeling of anxiety, alienation or purposelessness.

The sixth stage, intimacy, focuses on the establishment of significant relationships independent of parents and other protective social insititutions.Should the adult fail to achieve intimacy, Erikson believes that he/she will become isolated and will achieve only superficial relationships with other people. He/she will be unwilling to become involved in interpersonal situations which offer little self-protection--such as sexual union and close friendship.

At the heart of the developmental task of most well-functioning adults, according to Erikson, is the "nuclear" conflict between generativity and stagnation. At this point, the adult should become interested in "establishing and guiding the next generation." (1950, pg. 231) Where this guidance is not effective, the adult may retreat into a stance of hostile indifference to the younger generation, thereby becoming personally stagnant and interpersonally impoverished.

The final stage of development concerns the long-term act of drawing one's life together and finding meaning in it. In Erikson's (1950, pp. 231-32) own words:

> Only he who in some way has taken care of things and people and has adapted himself to the triumphs and disappointments adherent to being, by necessity, the originator of others and the generator of things and ideas--only he may gradually grow the fruit of (the first seven) stages....Although aware of the relativity of all the various life styles which have given meaning to human striving, the possessor of integrity is ready to defend the dignity of his own life style against all physical and economic threats. ...for him all human integrity stands or falls with the one style of integrity of which he partakes.... Before this final solution, death loses its sting.
>
> The lack or loss of this accrued ego integrity is signified by fear of death....Despair expresses the feeling that the time is short, too short for the attempt to start another life and to try out alternative roads to integrity. Disgust hides despair.

4. Loevinger, J. "The Meaning and Measurement of Ego Development" American Psychologist, 1966, 21, pp. 195-205.

Loevinger, J. "Theories of Ego Development" in Breger, L. (Ed.) Clinical-Cognitive Psychology: Models and Integrations. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1969, pp. 83-135.

Loevinger attempts to integrate both the interpersonal and cognitive dimensions of "ego development." The childhood stages are identified by Loevinger as (1) pre-social or normal-autistic, (2) impulsive and (3) self-protective. The fourth stage, identified by Loevinger as "conformist" usually typifies the person in late childhood or adolescence, though Loevinger believes that many adults never leave this stage. She suggests that young adults tend to leave this stage as they first come to recognize that they do not always conform to the norms or stereotypes of their culture. At the fifth stage, Loevinger speaks of a conscientious concern for the growing awareness of the complexity in the internal and external worlds that the young adult inhabits. A perception of individual differences among people takes the place of broad stereotypes.

Loevinger believes that very few adults proceed beyond the conscientious stage to the stage which she labels "autonomy." The adult at this stage is autonomous in at least two important respects. First, he/she is free from either a dominant concern for recognition by others (conformity) or for achievement of his/her own standards (conscientiousness). Secondly, since he/she fully appreciates his/her own need for autonomy, he/she respects the need of other people for autonomy (including his/her own children). At this stage of development, happiness and serenity are not guaranteed, problesm of lower ego stages do not disappear, but instead are seen from a different perspective. Loevinger identifies a theoretically higher stage which she labels "integrated," but does not offer an extensive description of this stage as does Erikson.

5. Levinson, D., et al., "The Psychosocial Development of Men in Early Adulthood and the Mid-Life Transition," Life History Research in Psychopathology, 1973, 3, 243-258.

Daniel Levinson and his associates at Yale have attempted to identify "relatively universal genotypic, age-linked, adult development periods." (244) This research team has based their conclusions on extensive interviews and Thematic Apperception Test interpretations with adult males in the 20-45 year age range.

The first stage identified by Levinson is labeled "learning the family." This stage is a transition between adolescence, which centers on the family of origin, and entry into the adult world. A series of developmental tasks face the young adult: "moving out of the family home, becoming financially less dependent, and getting into new role and living arrangements in which one is more autonomous and responsible." (245) This stage ends when the young adult has for the most part separated from the family.

The second stage, "getting into the adult world" is a period in which the young adult explores and tentatively commits

himself to various adult roles, memberships, responsibilities and relationships. The primary development task of this period, according to Levinson (247) is "to explore the available possibilities of the adult world, to arrive at an initial definition of oneself as an adult and to fashion an initial life structure that provides a viable link between the valued self and the wider adult world."

Levinson identifies several different sequences by which a young adult enters this stage. The most frequent pattern is to make a provisional commitment to an occupation during his 20's, then begin to build an identity around this occupation. Sometime around age 30 he makes a long-term commitment to the occupation and begins to "settle down" (the next stage). Alternatively, the initial occupational commitment may be overturned, the young adult making a major occupational change at age 30. Another common pattern finds the man in his 20's leading a transient life. He is confronted in the early 30's with either finding order and stability in his life, or embracing a long-term life style of instability.

One other particularly intriguing theme is offered by Levinson in discussing this second stage. Many young men, according to Levinson (p. 245) "enter adulthood with a dream or vision of their own future. This dream is usually articulated within an occupational context....Major shifts in life direction at subsequent ages are often occasioned by a sense of betrayal or compromise of the dream."

"Settling down" describes the primary developmental task of the adult male as he enters the early 30's. He becomes deeply committed to work, family and other valued interests, and begins to make long-term plans, based on these solidified interests. Several images are dominant during this period, according to Levinson (249): the young male in his 30's will "establish his niche in society," he "digs in" and "builds a nest," he is concerned with "making it" (earning $50,000 by 40 or securing tenure by 38). Levinson also typifies this period in terms of a disillusionment process. An adult during this period will find certain forms of freedom to be a personal or societal illusion.

The middle to late 30's primarily involves the process of "becoming one's own man." The middle-age male, recognizing his lack of freedom, seeks to become more independent. He may disengage from a cherished mentor, from his wife and family, from traditional societal constraints. He will tend to be oriented toward specific events (e.g., a promotion or publication of a book) that will in some sense affirm the worth of those things he values most about himself and his work. In waiting for this "magical" event to occur, the adult male, according to Levinson, may remain in a state of "suspended animation."

At this point, Levinson (pp. 253-4) believes that a critical mid-life transition occurs, whether or not he feels affirmed by society:

> The central issue is not whether he succeeds or fails in achieving his goals. The issue, rather, is what to do with the experience of disparity between what he has gained in an inner sense from living within a particular structure and what he wants for himself.

It is at this transitional point that the adult male may experience the bittersweet nature of success. In attempting to live out the fantasies and dreams associated with settling down, he has necessarily rejected or ignored other essential aspects of the self. Furthermore, at this stage of life, the adult male will experience bodily decline, and an accompanying sense of the aging process as well as his own mortality.

The mid-life transition, for most men, peaks in the early 40's. A period of restablization occurs in the middle 40's, during which most adult males either experience new models of productivity or significant decline in vitality and productivity. It is at this point that Levinson and his associates leave us--waiting for their upcoming analysis of the later stages of adult male development.

C. Extrinsic Theories

1. Lewin, K. Field Theory in Social Science. New York: Harper, 1948.

Lewin was primarily concerned with an examination of ways in which various environmental properties dynamically interact as they become transformed into psychic forces--forces that have positive or negative values, depending on the goals and needs of the person who is interacting with the environment. Relative to the issue of faculty motivation, Lewin cautions us against too great a reliance on an examination of the physical properties of an environment. The "psychic" reality (one's "life space") is much more fluid and malleable than is the "phenomenal" reality. In identifying or changing the motives of faculty, it is essential that one attend to the ways in which rewards or other extrinsic motives are interpreted, transformed and integrated with other internalized environmental forces. Lewin has observed, for instance, that many positively-valued goals lose their attractiveness as one approaches their attainment; furthermore, we are more likely to remember tasks that we have not yet completed, than those that we have completed (Zeigarnik Effect). These two factors speak to two important, and seemingly paradoxial, features about human motivation: we are often disillusioned with success and obsessed with failure.

We can use Lewinian theory to arrive at another important conclusion about human motivation. One's understanding of

human motivation should derive from an examination of critical choice points, rather than from an examination of normal, daily operations. Typically, people operate with a fairly clear and consistent set of goals. Work is engaged in to meet certain objectives that are relatively constant and obvious. It is only at a point where significant decisions have to be made between several positively valued goals (or the avoidance of several negatively valued consequences) that the vital dynamics of one's motivational field becomes apparent. At these choice points, for instance, one will often turn to others for help. Why have these other people been selected? At choice points, one often attempts to transform the value of one or more goals (cf. our discussion on cognitive balance). How and why does this transformation take place? In regard to research on faculty motivation, especially in the college classroom, faculty should be studied either at the point when they are making important career or personal decisions, which is difficult to time and perhaps disruptive to observe, or in a somewhat artificial setting where they are being asked to examine and speculate about their decision-making processes at critical choice points.

2. Heider, F. The Psychology of Interpersonal Relations. New York: Wiley, 1958.

Fritz Heider emphasizes the motivating properties of cognitive "balance" in one's perception of relationships with other people and objects. If, for example, one person (X) values another person (Y) and Y in turn values something (e.g., a book or another person) (Z) which X also values, then if X also values Z, the configuration is in blanace. If X does not value Z, then an imbalance is perceived. This imbalance is, in turn, motivating, for X will take action to change this configuration: X will either change his/her appraisal of Z or his/her appraisal of Y. Conversely, if X has a negative attitude toward both Y and Z, then Y's attitude toward Z should be positive. If it is not, then some change in attitude is likely to occur. X will increasingly value either Y or Z. With reference to faculty motivation, cognitive balance is probably even more important and motivating that it is for most other people--for faculty tend to value rationality and consistency.

3. Festinger, L. A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance. New York: Row, Peterson, 1957.

Zimbardo, P. The Cognitive Control of Motivation. Glenview, Ill.: Scott, Foresman and Co., 1969.

Festinger and his colleagues are concerned with the motivating properties of consistency as they influence human decision-making processes, and one's perceptions and actions upon completion of this process. Festinger proposes that after a decision has been made, one will seek out evidence to confirm the worth of that decision, while avoiding contrary evidence.

The decision-maker will be especially motivated to find confirmation for a decision, if his/her choice was marginal (other choices being equally satisfying) and if the choice requires or is associated with a major expenditure of time, money, self-esteem, etc.

4. Brunswik, E. Perception and the Representative Design of Psychological Experiments. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1956.

Postman, L. and Tolman, E. "Brunswik's Probabilistic Functionalism" in Koch, S. (Ed.), Psychology: A Study of a Science, Vol, I. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1959, pp. 502-564.

One's behavior is made possible and supported by this causal texture. Some aspects of the causal texture are relatively distance (distal), having only indirect effects on the individual. Other effects are close (proximal)--their effects can be directly ascertained. A third set of effects are central, being internal to the organism. The central effects cannot be directly observed, but must be inferred from behavior.

To build on Brunswik's initial model, we can describe elements of the environment as to their central, proximal or distal effects on a person; similarly, we can classify the effects of a person on his/her environment with reference to its central, proximal or distal impact. To simply state that a person and his/her environment are in interaction is not enough. The effects of an indirect and delayed impact (distal) of a person on his/her environment (or vice versa) are quite different from the effects of a direct and immediate impact (proximal). Jay Forrester, the creator of system dynamics, a powerful, computer-based analytic tool, has noted that delay factors in a complex system can be profoundly important. Many of the psychological theories of human behavior that rely heavily on the concept of feedback (cybernetics) fail to take the delay factor into account.

A second important principle to be derived from Brunswik's writings is his concept of "probabilistic functionalism." Brunswik believes that a primary goal of any person is the achievement of accurate perceptions and understanding of distal events. Whereas classical behaviorism focuses on the events which have direct and immediate proximal impact on an organism, Brunswik believes that effective adaptation to the environment requires an understanding or anticipation of a much broader (distal) temporal and spatial environment. It is not possible, with any degree of certainty, however, to infer the nature of distal features in the environment, given only the specific pattern of proximal features that are immediately available to us. There is an uncertainty gap associated with the prediction of proximal effects from distal causes or the inference of distal causes from proximal effects. To the extent

that there appears to be any significant convergence between the proximal and distal, Brunswik states that the proximal cue in question has "ecological validity."

Since we cannot know about distal causes with any certainty, we can only derive probabilistic statements about the existence and nature of these causes, hence must always view distal causes and proximal effects in a relativistic manner. We gather up a variety of proximal cues, from many different sources, in order to increase our certainty in the act of understanding distal causes. Probabilistic functionalism refers to this act of gathering and compiling relative information from immediate (proximal) sources that are in some sense ecologically valid with reference to a distal environment--an environment which has an indirect, yet significant, impact on us.

Taken out of this highly theoretical context, and placed in the context of faculty motivation, Brunswik's model has several important implications. First, Brunswik provides a useful framework for understanding the relativistic dilemma which each of us, and particularly faculty members, must face in order to interact with our environments. On the one hand, foresight and expanded perceptions of the causal texture in our environment are valued and useful attributes of the successful participant in our society (these attributes seem to be at the heart of the mission of liberal arts education). On the other hand, a distal perspective is, by definition and by nature, remote and seemingly irrelevant. The foresighted of our society are called "dreamers," those with expanded perspectives are known as "dilettantes. The college professor who insists upon considering that which is distant and only indirectly relevant, will soon lose the interests of his/her students. That which is distal must somehow be integrated with that which is proximal. This can be done by making distal events proximal. Some faculty become so involved in the remote past that it becomes part of their immediate reality. These faculty have chosen to retreat into their primary area of study so that it might become more proximal. Unfortunately, this type of professor is likely to become absorbed in his subject matter at the expense of his/her students.

Alternatively, the college professor can choose to keep the subject matter remote, but try to constantly examine the proximal ("relevant") implications of the material for both himself/herself and his/her students. Unfortunately, the norms of many of our collegiate institutions often do not sustain this emphasis on relevance, hence we more frequently observe the "distal" professor for whom the content of his/her discipline acquires its own motivating properties.

A second dilemma also faces the college professor. It concerns the relativity associated with the study of distal events. Probabilistic functionalism might be considered the <u>modus</u>

operandi for most areas of academic study. The college professor uses that information which is immediately available to attempt the formulation of more complete understanding of that which is remote in time and space. To operate in this relativistic and probablistic mode, as a teacher or scholar, one must be "tolerant of ambiguity," "open to experience" and willing to abandon temporarily-held conceptual schemas (flexibility). The faculty member who is primarily motivated by order and certainty may be intolerant of this relativistic perspective concerning his/her discipline or area of specialization. He/she will tend to find gratification in the classroom by presenting and testing for information that is defined as truth, rather than as a probable or possible statement. Any challenge to this truth, or to the means by which this truth is derived, is usually viewed by this type of faculty member as offensive and inappropriate. Typically, this faculty member will demonstrate loyalty to his/her discipline (the source of truth) and to the traditional role of an instructor as authority (the preserver of truth).

5. Adorno, R., et al. The Authoritarian Personality. New York: Harper, 1950.

Rokeach, M. The Open and Closed Mind. New York: Basic Books, 1960.

These studies of authoritarianism identify a potential source of cognitively based, human motivation. The preservation of distinct categories (racial, ethnic, doctrinal, ideological) may be inherently gratifying for some people. Even more likely, however, the authoritarian perspective has gained "secondary autonomy," initially being based in the child-rearing practices, general cultural milieu in which a child is reared, and various precipitating stresses in the primary family (e.g. economic instability).

In expanding on the work of Adorno and his associates, Rokeach found as much dogmatism concerning certain belief systems among "liberals" as he did among "conservatives." Thus, in the study of faculty motivation, it is essential that the stereotypes of "innovative" faculty about traditional teaching-learning principles be carefully examined, and that the motivating properties that are imbedded in and expressed through these stereotypes be studied.

A third major insight can be derived from the study of authoritarianism. In examining the extrinsic sources of human motivation, it is essential that one look at all levels of interaction between a person and his environment. The research design and analysis that was completed in the study of authoritarianism embraced both the personal and interpersonal dimensions of human motivation. It also confronted complex, social and political issues of the day. Studies of faculty motivation should emulate this approach to social research.

6. McGregor, D. The Human Side of Enterprise. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1960.

McGregor believes that each manager holds an implicit theory about how and why humans behave in an organizational setting. McGregor believes that this theory manifests itself in the manager's relationships with his/her subordinates (and supervisors) such that the theory becomes self-confirming. McGregor labels the most pervasive and traditional theory of motivation: "theory X." According to this theory:

1. The average human being has an inherent dislike of work and will avoid it if he can.

2. Because of this human dislike of work, most people must be coerced, controlled, directed, threatened with punishment to get them to put forth adequate effort toward the achievement of organizational objectives.

3. The average human being prefers to be directed, wishes to avoid responsibility, has relatively little ambition, wants security above all.

McGregor believes that most theories of management (e.g. those that emphasize the manipulation of rewards) implicitely embrace these assumptions. In opposition to this theory, McGregor (1960, pp. 36-37) describes the Maslowian need hierarchy and notes that:

> a satisfied need is not a motivator of behavior. ...When man's physiological needs are satisfied and he is no longer fearful about his physical welfare, his social needs become important motivators of his behavior. These are such needs as those for belonging, for association, for acceptance by one's fellows, for giving and receiving friendship and love.

McGregor observes that social needs are recognized by the typical manager, but are viewed as a threat to the organization. McGregor proposes that higher order needs (esteem, reputation) are equally as important--and rarely satisfied. Because Theory X ignores these higher order moves it explains the consequence of a particular managerial strategy, but neither explains nor describes human nature. (McGregor, 1960, p. 42)

As an alternative to Theory X, McGregor offers Theory Y which embodies the following basic assumptions:

1. The expenditure of physical and mental effort in work is as natural as play or rest.

2. External control and the threat of punishment are not the only means for bringing about effort toward

organizational objectives. Man will exercise self-direction and self-control in the service of objectives to which he is committed.

3. Commitment to objectives is a function of the rewards associated with their achievement.

4. The average human being learns, under proper conditions, not only to accept but to seek responsibility.

5. The capacity to exercise a relatively high degree of imagination, ingenuity, and creativity in the solution of organizational problems is widely, not narrowly, distributed in the population.

6. Under the condition of modern industrial life, the intellectual potentialities of the average human being are only partially utilized.

7. Blake, R. and Mouton, J. The Managerial Grid. Houston, Texas: Gulf Publishing Co., 1964.

Blake and Mouton advocate the integration of concerns about successful completion of the tasks of an organization ("concern for production") with concerns about the process by which this task is being performed ("concern for people"). Blake and Mouton propose that the common assumption among managers is that task and process concerns are antithetical, whereas in fact (in the tradition of Theory B) a group which is working effectively together and enjoys working together will also more successfully accomplish its task.

Several managerial orientations have been identified by Blake and Mouton in terms of the interaction between concern, or lack of concern for task (production) and process (people). On the one hand, we find the self-sufficient manager who is primarily concerned with production. He/she believes that it is wasted time and energy to be concerned for his employee's thoughts and feelings. He does not believe that the quantity or quality of the task is affected by the employee's thoughts or feelings. He/she views the primary function of the manager to be one of giving orders and ensuring that these orders are carried out. Consequently, he/she is often consumed in the task of acquiring power and thereby ensuring compliance. Power is obtained through formal authority, acquisition of expertise or status, and selection of compliant subordinants.

The "good neighbor" manager, conversely, is primarily concerned with people and process, often at the expense of task and production. He/she feels that the task is incidental to good morale within his/her work group. The "country club" atmosphere which often pervades the working environment in which this type of manager operates, is, ironically, just as devoid of trust as the environment of the self-sufficient manager. In one

case, the manager does not trust the personal or collective task competence of his/her employees; in the other case ("good neighbor") he/she does not trust their interpersonal competence--specifically, their abilities to handle disagreement and conflict.

Several balanced orientations are identified by Blake and Mouton. The default manager is actively concerned with neither production nor people. He/she tends to believe that the task is impossible to complete because people are lazy and indifferent (a self-sufficient manager without power) or because they are too ambitious and aggressive (a good neighbor without his/her "club"). The traditional manager believes that simultaneous concern for both task and process is impossible. He/she believes that the task comes first, but that if people are pushed too hard they will become ineffective. He/she therefore tends to swing between self-sufficient and good neighbor modes of management. The participative manager--Blake and Mouton's ideal--is concerned with both task and process, believing that effective process will increase productivity.

In terms of motivation theory, the Blake and Mouton model reflects on the needs of both managers and employees. Referring to Schultz's theory of interpersonal motivation, the good neighbor manager seems to be primarily concerned with issues of inclusion and associated social needs, such as affiliation, acceptance and avoidance of social embarrassment. Conversely, the self-sufficient manager seems to be primarily concerned with control needs and associated esteem needs such as achievement, autonomy and recognition.

The work environment that these two types of managers tend to create is also responsive to fulfillment of these needs. The "self-sufficient" environment will appeal to and motivate the worker who wants a clear definition of control and power (the authoritarian personality), as well as the worker who is production or achievement-oriented. The latter type of worker must feel that he/she is playing a significant part in the production process, in order to be able to accept partial credit for the achievement. If he/she doesn't feel like an active contributor, then the achievement-oriented worker will feel alienated in a self-sufficient environment. Conversely, the good neighbor environment will be attractive to the worker with dominant social needs, though only the participative environment will be consistently supportive of these needs. The environment of a default manager will meet very few needs, hence employees will themselves default in their active interest in the institution. They will find alternative institutional settings in which to meet needs other than those involving security. The "default" worker is the classic bureaucrat.

The typical college or university environment is probably best described as self-sufficient or default, depending on the leadership style that is dominant in the institution. Many

small liberal arts colleges (especially those that are still church-related) tend to be administered by self-sufficient managers, whereas the administration of prestigious private institutions tends to be default in nature--supporting the traditional role of academic leader as socratic facilitator or "first among peers." A default management style is also quite common in large public universities, but for different reasons: much like the contemporary American city, the public university may be unmanageable. The university behaves more like a municipality or neighborhood than it does a formal, hierarchial organization or institution. The faculty, as members of this neighborhood, will usually experience mixed loyalties, giving primary allegiance to discipline or profession, or, like the bureaucrat, to institutions other than the university (family, church, recreation, etc.). "The university president," an unidentified pundit has said, "is like the man who sits on the edge of the dock trying to control the flight of the seagulls above."

8. Herzberg, F., et al. The Motivation to Work (2nd Ed.) New York: Wiley and Sons, 1959.

Herzberg found in his studies of work motivation that the factors which make people satisfied with their jobs are not those which, when absent, make these people dissatisfied. Those factors which provide satisfaction are: achievement, recognition, work itself, responsibility and advancement. Each of these factors is directly task-related and correspond to Blake and Mouton's performance dimension. The factors which independently yield dissatisfaction are interpersonal relationships (both with one's supervisor and with peers), the technical abilities of the supervisor, company policy and administration, physical working conditions, and the individual's personal life off the job--factors that relate to the context or environment within which the job is performed. The process (people) dimensions that Blake and Mouton identify seems to closely correlate with the sources of dissatisfaction. Salary tends to serve as both a source of satisfaction and a source of dissatisfaction.

Examined in the context of our previous discussions about need hierarchies, Herzberg's findings seem to indicate that only basic security needs are met (salary), the sources of satisfaction in work tend to be related to a higher order of needs (esteem and actualization) that are sources of dissatisfaction ("satisfiers") tend to promote increased production, hence can be called "motivators." Sources of dissatisfaction, conversely, tend not to reduce production rates, nor does the elimination of these "dissatisfiers" increase production. Active resistance to a particular job may be reduced by elimination of "dissatisfiers"; however, the possible acceptance that results is not motivating to the worker. Turning once again to Blake and Mouton's model, we can conclude that a "good neighbor" policy will reduce work dissatisfaction, but will not itself increase the effectiveness of the work environment. This type of "hygienic" management may provide a pleasant environment in which to work and a considerable amount of interpersonal satisfaction, but little satisfaction

through the job and little sense of enthusiasm or creativity. Conversely, the task-oriented environment can yield satisfaction for the employee only if he/she has enough influence (power) in this environment for it to be at least in part responsive to his/her needs. Once again, an integrated approach to management seems to be essential if the worker--in this case, faculty member-- is to be motivated in his/her work.

9. Von Neumann, J. and Morgenstern, O. Theory of Games and Economic Behavior. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1944.

Von Neumann and Morgenstern discuss the influence of reward structures on cooperative and competitive behavior in a social system by describing a hypothetical dilemma that confronts two men who have been arrested as criminal suspects. They have been placed in two different cells and are not allowed to communicate with one another. One at a time, each prisoner is presented with two options: to confess or not confess. The decision made by prisoner A will have consequences that are in part dependent on the decisions made by Prisoner B and vice versa.

TABLE ONE

PAYOFF MATRIX FOR THE PRISONER'S DILEMMA

Prisoner A	Prisoner B: Not Confess	Prisoner B: Confess
Not Confess	1 yr. for A 1 yr. for B	20 yrs. for A 6 months for B
Confess	6 months for A 20 yrs. for B	8 yrs. for A 8 yrs. for B

If prisoner A confesses and prisoner B does not confess, then prisoner A will get only 6 months in prison for turning state's evidence. If both A and B confess, then both will receive a term of eight years. On the other hand, if A does not confess, then he will receive only one year, on a lesser charge, if B also does not confess. If B does confess (turns state's evidence) then A will be fully charged for the crime, receiving a 20-year prison term. The dilemma for A is profound: mutual non-confession would be of benefit to both prisoners, yet each prisoner can obtain even greater benefit by assuming cooperative behavior

on the part of the other prisoner, and then confessing. However, the other prisoner can be expected to consider the same option. Consequently, most players in this game will confess in order to avoid the 20-year term.

This particular condition is called a "non-zero-sum" game, for the two participants can cooperatively choose a course of action which, in relative terms, will benefit both participants. A "zero-sum" game is one in which any choice will inevitably benefit one player at the expense of the other player (as is the case in most competitive sports). The non-zero-sum game is in many ways much more destructive than zero-sum and can actually lead to much more competitive behavior. Non-zero sum requires an initial level of trust if cooperative behavior is to be an appropriate response. This level of trust is rarely present in new social systems, hence competitive behavior is anticipated.

The non-zero-sum payoff matrix (Table One) makes the anticipation of competition a "self-fulfilling prophecy"; consequently, competition is witnessed, leading to further reductions in the trust level, further increases in the tendency toward competition, etc. Unlike the zero-sum systems, in which there is no rational option other than competition, the non-zero-sum system will tend to produce "face saving" behavior and extensive rationalization concerning one's reasons for engaging in competitive behavior. Thus, even if communication channels are open, once the cycle of mistrust and competition has begun, the information that is conveyed will tend to be meaningless with reference to the resolution of conflict.

The prisoner's dilemma is often called a "mixed motive" game, for it places in conflict the rewards that come with both cooperation and competition. The motives associated with this type of reward structure are, in fact, even more profoundly mixed, for a variety of other needs soon become wrapped up in the negative spiral of mistrust, competition, distorted communication, face-saving and rationalization. Both task and process needs are blocked. Typically, even the basic security needs associated with holding a job (or, in an international context, physical survival) are challenged in systems which perpetuate this type of reward structure.

When one examines the reward structures that typify collegiate institutions, the dilemma of our two prisoners does not seem to be remote. During the past decade, for instance, only a limited number of tenured positions are available in most collegiate institutions to untenured faculty. Typically, these untenured faculty are being considered on a comparative rather than absolute basis. Thus, the relative success of one untenured faculty member is, in part, contingent on the relative failure of another untenured faculty member. This condition is understandable, and probably unavoidable. A zero-sum game best identifies this condition as we have described it so far. The system gets much more complex, however, and yields a much more destructive non-zero-sum game, when other factors are considered.

Untenured faculty are encouraged to work together on committees, in department meetings and even in the same classroom (team-teaching). This cooperation is quite understandable, and once again, unavoidable. However, the untenured faculty are in this manner placed in a "mixed motive"/"non-zero-sum" game. The untenured faculty are frequently encouraged, through faculty development programs, to work closely together in the improvement of their instructional skills or in the creation of a supportive environment for continuing professional growth. While each of these cooperative efforts might improve the professional performance of the untenured faculty member and can ultimately improve the teaching-learning process at the collegiate institution, they create a dilemma for the untenured faculty member: does he/she independently work for his/her own career advancement at the expense of both his/her colleagues and institution, and his/her own professional growth?

10. Beckhard, R. Organizational Development: Stratagies and Models. Reading, Mass.: Addision-Wesley, 1969.

Several ingredients of a successful, humanitarian system have been identified by Beckhard. First, an effective and supportive work environment should be one in which work is judged against the accomplishment of specific goals that have been at least in part determined by and certainly acknowledged by all members of th system. Second, form should follow function in the system. The problem, task or project should determine how the human resources are organized. Precedents should be considered as useful information rather than as imperatives. Third, decisions in a social system should be made by or near the primary sources of information, regardless of the location of this source of a formal organization chart, i.e., those who know should decide. Fourth, rewards should be given out not only for short-term gains or the achievement of certain performance standards (task goals) but also for the growth and development of subordinates and for the creation of a viable work group (process goals).

Fifth, communication laterally and vertically in the system should be relatively undisturbed. People should generally be open and confronting and they should share all relevant facts, including feelings, and feel neither rewarded nor punished for this activity. Sixth, there should be a minimum amount of inappropriate win-lose (zero-sum) activities between individuals or group and even less non-zero-sum activities. Constant efforts should exist at all levels of the system to treat conflict as a problem which is to be solved rather than savored. Seventh, conflicts around tasks and projects should be expected, as expressed in a clash of ideas; however, relatively little energy should be expended in clashes over interpersonal difficulties, because these difficulties have been anticipated and worked through at an early stage. The system should be open to information flow between all parts of the system and between this system and other systems. Ninth, the uniqueness of each person (and unit) in the system should be acknowledged and valued, as should the

interdependence of these people (and units) in the system. A managerial system should be designed to support this value. Finally, the system should be self-correcting (Feedback) and self-renewing. It is a system which learns from its mistakes.

Section II: Context for Understanding Faculty Motivation

A. Higher Education: General

1. Balderston, Frederick E. Managing Today's University. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc., 1975.

Managing Today's University shows that rational management can actually be attained if administrators use the latest techniques of policy analysis to analyze information on which all policies are or should be based. Balderston suggests many workable policies for managing costs, budgets, admissions, placement, and various information systems. And, for administrators who are facing the prospect of program cutbacks, Balderston offers a helpful method for evaluating whether programs are complementary to, substitutes for, or independent of one another. In his new book, Balderston takes into account all the unfulfilled hopes for planning, programming and budgeting systems, and establishes policy analysis as the necessary successor if management is to be more beneficial. All administrators should be able to improve performance on their campuses by reading Balderston's assessment of newly developed techniques for managing today's university.

2. Chickering, A. W. Education and Identity. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1969.

Arthur Chickering shows how students change, considers what changes are desirable, and demonstrates how needed changes can be fostered by institutions. He describes seven major dimensions of development that occur during the college years - competence, emotions, autonomy, identity, interpersonal relationships, purpose integrity - and he explains how these dimensions correlate with specific educational policies and practices. Chickering suggests new interrelationships among such areas of higher education as curriculum, teaching, and evaluation, residence hall arrangements, faculty and administration, peers, and institutional size and objectives. Education and Identity synthesizes significant research and theory on student development and produces a conceptual framework that can be readily applied to a wide range of decision-making and action.

3. Feldman, Kenneth and Newcomb, Theodore, The Impact of College on Students. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1969.

Classic book summarizing the research on college students. Major findings include:

1. From the first to the fourth year there seems to be increased importance of aesthetic values and decreases in religious ones. Students tend to change from traditional values of morality and achievement toward moral relativism and existential emphasis of the here and now...toward general education and appreciation of ideas and away from such instrumental goals as narrow preparation for a vocation. Seniors show increased preference for jobs that invite the use of ones own creative abilities.

2. In attitudes toward public issues most students show a clear trend away from conservatism...also a tendency to decrease religious interest and increase independence of thought, originality, and widening interests.

3. Personality characteristics: Seniors are typically more dominant, confident, assertive, independent, impulsive, and less conforming to stereotypes of their own sex when compared to freshman on a variety of paper and pencil tests. (Note: These characteristics do not predict behavior very well in any specific circumstance.) Also, seniors seem to be more "open-minded" as reflected by declining authoritarianism, dogmatism, and prejudice.

4. Satisfaction with college is generally moderate yet students report no great enthusiasm or excitement about college.

5. Contact with faculty is minimal for most students and they seem to be reasonably content to have it so. Teachers are appreciated more as experts than as persons.

6. Colleges impact on attitudes and behavior seems to be greatest on students who are open to new experiences and/or open to the influence of others.

4. Jencks, C. and Riesman, D. The Academic Revolution. Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1968.

Already a classic in American higher education--and already somewhat out-of-date. Jencks and Riesman attempt, to use their own words, "a sociological and historical analysis of American higher education." They describe the rise in power of the academic professional, as well as the dominant academic culture.

5. Martin, Warren Bryan . Conformity: Standards and Change in Higher Education: Jossey-Bass Publishers, San Francisco, 1969.

Martin et. al., in reporting a study of eight diverse higher education institutions which include several "cluster" colleges within larger universities, conclude that "faculty are more alike than dissimilar in their attitudes toward educational assumptions, values, and goals, the criteria for institutional excellence, and the prospects for professional or institutional change." Groups of faculty differed, by their own reports, on the extent to which institutional objectives had been treated during their

recruitment; those at new and/or liberal arts colleges had colleagues who expressed more loyalty for the history and traditions (and expressed purpose) of their institutions than those at older, more standard large universities; opportunities for educational experiment seemed more important to teachers at new and/or "radical" schools; same for the importance of interdisciplinary faculty contacts, and somewhat the same for importance of tutorials and one-to-one contacts with students. Martin claims that "evidence seems to be accumulating," however, "that structural and organizational provisions for change do help to effect it..."

6. Newman, Frank, et al. Report on Higher Education. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1971.

The federal task force on higher education was initiated in 1969 by the then Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, Robert Finch. When this report was issued, the new Secretary, Elliot Richardson, had these remarks to make.

"The report is an unusual document. It is provocative without being irresponsible; unconventional without making a fetish of being so; blunt and critical, yet clearly written by individuals who are higher education 'insiders' deeply committed to their profession. The report asserts that our colleges and universities are not fully serving the educational needs of an expanding population of students and raises the interesting issue as to whether higher education need to be academic education. It questions the trend toward the growth of large multi-campus public systems of higher education and provides disturbing signs that individual campuses are losing their autonomy and their sense of mission. Commissioner Marland and I believe that the report is as significant a statement on higher education as we have seen."

The task force made these introductory remarks.

"Several commissions have examined the state of higher education within the past few years. Their recommendations, ranging from expanding community colleges to spending more for research in the graduate schools, are intended to strengthen the existing system and is not enough to improve and expand the present system. As we have examined the growth of higher education in the post-war period, we have seen disturbing trends toward uniformity in our institutions, growing bureaucracy over-emphasis on academic credentials, isolation of students and

faculty from the world--a growing rigidity and uniformity of structure that makes higher education reflect less and less the interests of society. Rather than allow these trends to continue, means must be found to create a diverse and responsive system. We believe that only an intensive national effort can bring about sufficient change before the present opportunities for serious reform are lost."

The report is divided into the following sections: (1) The paradox of access, (2) Lockstep, (3) Educational apartheid, (4) Homogenization of Higher Education, (5) Professionalization of learning (6) Growth of bureaucracy, (7) Illegitimacy of cost effectiveness, (8) Credentials monopoly, (9) Unfinished experiment in minority education, (10) Barriers to women, (11) Inner-direction of graduate education, (12) Everybody's answer: the community college, (13) Changing course, and (14) Footnotes. The report has numerous bibliographic footnotes, statistics, and specific recommendations for reconstituting higher education. Additional copies may be obtained from the Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C.

B. Theories and Models of Academic Change

1. Argyris, Chris. Interpersonal Competence and Organizational Effectiveness. Homewood, Ill.: Dorsey Press, 1962.

Argyris postulates that changes, if they are to be permanent, must begin "at the top." He points out that the values which dominate large organizations are primarily impersonal and task-oriented; humanistic and democratic values are lacking. Thus, non-authentic relationships which are phony, static, non-supportive, and coercive and the resulting interpersonal incompetence, conflict, lack of trust, conformity and rigidity can develop.

2. Argyris, C. and Schon, D. Theory in Practice: Increasing Professional Effectiveness. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1974.

Argyris and Schon address their attention to the issue of what professional competency looks like, and to the issue of discrepancies between "theories-in-use" and "espoused theories." They detail a program for helping professionals clarify their own espoused theories about human relationships and reflect on the relationship between these theories and the interpersonal behavior exhibited by the professionals. This approach to human growth and interpersonal relationship training may be attractive to the faculty member who is responsive to carefully-reasoned analysis--the method which pervades this book.

3. Bennis, Warren G. Changing Organizations. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966.

This book is a collection of essays which the author describes as approaching the problem of organizational change from many different angles. The essays are divided into two parts, the first of which describes evolutionary trends in organizational development. Democracy, science, and collaboration are suggested as the keys to adaptive organizations of the future. The second part of the book discusses how the behavioral scientist can help to direct the process of organizational change through action based on knowledge.

Planned change is described as the link between theory and practice in which a change agent of planned change are outlined and the "risks and promises" of laboratory (T-group) training are aptly illustrated with examples of successes and failures.

This book puts the history, practice, and future prospects of planned organizational change into perspective. The focus of the book is not on education in particular; rather, the discussion is applicable to any complex human organization. Behavioral scientists concerned with the theory of planned organizational change will constitute its primary audience. Each essay is liberally documented with footnotes, and an index is provided.

4. Bennis, Warren G., Been, D. Kenneth, and Chin, Robert, eds. The Planning of Change, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1969

This is an extensive (627 pages) series of scholarly articles on planning organizational change. While it is not specifically directed toward academic institutions, many of the models for change developed in the volume may be useful to both faculty and administrators concerned with implementing and sustaining instructional innovations. Chapters focusing on Systems in Change, Change Strategies, Resistance to Change, and Current Models of Planned Change may be particularly useful to academic administrators and instructional developers.

5. Evans, Richard I. Resistance to Innovation in Higher Education: A Social Psychological Exploration Focused on Television and the Establishment. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1970.

This book analyzes a number of case studies of institutions which have attempted to implement technological innovations in instruction, e.g., teaching machines and instructional television. Although the analysis is highly social-psychological in nature, it nevertheless presents a number of practical

recommendations on dealing with the sources of resistance to change in instructional methods. While the book focuses on resistance to technological innovations, many of its conclusions and recommendations may be quite appropriate for other instructional development contexts. Of particular interest to the instructional developer are chapters on sources of Resistance, Theories of Innovation, Professors and Instructional Television, and Changes in Attitude Toward Innovation.

6. Gardner, J. Self-Renewal. New York: Harper & Row, 1963.

> ". . . we shall renew neither ourselves, nor our society, nor a troubled world unless we share a vision of something worth saving . . . . We have the difficult task of facing. . . threat and at the same time looking beyond it. If we fail to look beyond it, the long-term future will lose all reality for us, and we shall forget what kind of world we might have wished to build . . ."

Gardner outlines a program of self-renewal for people, organizations and societies. This is an extremely important book for anyone or any group to read when defining the mission or primary goals of a new program.

7. Havelock, Ronald G., and Havelock, Mary C., in collaboration with the Staff and Participants of the Michigan Conference on Educational Change Agent Training, CECAT. Training for Change Agents: A Guide to the Design of Training Programs in Education and Other Fields. Ann Arbor, Michigan: Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, 1972.

Topics:

- Our contemporary knowledge of the change process: assessment of four major perspectives.
- Goals of training: four approaches to the issue.
- Summary statement of fifteen principles of good training design.
- Framework for training designs: analysis of eight elements which can be used as an evaluation checklist.
- Alternative training models:

- Programs to train school systems to develop a self-renewal capacity.
- Programs for change agent linkage of school systems to resources.
- Programs to effect political and structural changes in school systems.
- Programs to improve the effectiveness of other educational agencies.

- Ideal model for a fully developed training design: program for change agent training for state education agencies.

Havelock relates the new concept of "planned innovation" to the development of a professional discipline concerned primarily with the process of change. The author sees the need for a coherent strategy if change is to lead to real progress. The concept and role of the change agent is central to formulation and implementation of strategy.

This work contains a number of items, suggestions, frameworks, principles, and tactical details at several levels of specificity applicable to a wide range of change agent skills and situations. It should be a useful aid and reference source to trainers and training program developers. There are numerous tables and clarifying schematic diagrams, a bibliography, and index.

8. Hefferlin, J.B. Lon. Dynamics of Academic Reform. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1971.

This book conveys basic information (facts) about academic reform in a variety of institutions--examines the reasons why some reform has worked and other reform has not. Hefferlin advocates a gradualist approach to change rather than revolution, and notes the destructive effects of over-reaction to crisis. An excellent, basic resource book on academic change.

9. Lippitt, Ronald, Jeanne Watson, and Bruce Westley. The Dynamics of Planned Change. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1958.

A change model with the following seven phrases is explained:

- The development of a need for change.
- The establishment of a change relationship.
- The clarification or diagnosis of the client system's problem.
- The examination of alternative routes and goals; the establishment of goals and intentions of action.
- The transformation of intentions into actual change efforts.
- The generalization and stabilization of change.
- The achievement of a terminal relationship.

10. Martorana, S.V. and Kuhns, Eileen. Managing Academic Change. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1975

In their new book, Martorana and Kuhns apply the research techniques of social science and draw from the experience of successful innovators to provide this understanding. They first offer twenty case studies of current innovations, reported by those who developed the programs. The purposes, problems and achievements of these innovations are fully detailed. Martorana and Kuhns then present their general theory, which systematically organizes the complex forces which affect change; this conceptual framework can be applied to all change situation. They also include specific guidelines for implementing changes and a clear overview of the main directions of current academic change.

11. Michael, Donald N. On Learning to Plan--and Planning to Learn. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1973.

This work is an attempt to present an approach to planning for societal change based on the learning process. The prose is laden with jargon, but reading the book is worth the effort required. If nothing else, read Chapters One and Two, and the Epilogue. They offer a critique of most of the systematic models for change and place this model in perspective. Michael insists that if we are to achieve the state where a learning approach to change is accepted and used, we must in fact go through the process of learning to create that approach. All that he, or anyone else, can do is suggest possible directions, some significant pitfalls likely to be encountered and some positive steps to start the process. It is a reasonable survival guide for one about to move onto the frontiers of change.

12. Miles, Matthew B. (ed.) Innovation in Education. New York: Columbia University, 1964.

In this volume, change processes are given close study by an assembly of persons--educators, sociologists, psychologists, and writers--who have worked in the midst of educational change. They deal with a wide range of questions: What causes resistance to change? Why is a particular strategy of innovation so effective? What principles can be used to plan and guide educational change efforts? The volume begins with a general introduction on the nature of educational innovation. In the book's first section, nine case studies illuminate what happened when specific innovations were introduced. Each case is analyzed to uncover the underlying factors which determined success or failure. A second major part of the

book presents nine separate studies of research and theory in educational innovation. A third section is devoted to studies of the American educational system as a setting for change. In conclusion, the generalizations about educational innovation made in the book are reviewed and discussed.

This volume would be equally valuable to both researchers and practitioners. Research findings are well referenced. The bibliographic information and the index provide easy access to particular areas the reader may wish to investigate.

13. Rogers, Everett M. Diffusion of Innovations. Glencoe, N.Y.: The Free Press, 1962.

This work highlights three variables in the study of change: (1) the innovation; (2) the target unit or that which is to be changed; and (3) the initiating unit or change agent.

14. Sarason, Seymour B. The Creation of Settings and the Future Societies. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1972.

Anyone undertaking a change effort should read this book. It is an attempt to make sense out of and to draw generalities from any attempt to create a setting. In Sarason's usage the setting is the joining together of people to accomplish some purpose. Settings might be as small as a couple coming together in marriage or as large as the French Revolution. The author argues that most of what we know about the creation of settings is learning by inference or recollection from the study of mature settings. By drawing on his own personal experiences and case histories of several different attempts to create settings, he sketches for the reader a map which includes signficiant features of the development process. It is not a how-to-do-it book. But, having read it and reflected upon it, you may be comforted to know that you are not encountering the unpredictable or the irrational as you move through the throes of creation. Rather, the troubling, painful, unsettling events that occur are part of a pattern that appears to be generalizable across all attempts to create settings. Sarason emphasizes repeatedly the maxim, "The more things change the more they are the same." It offers assurance that no matter how much energy and whatever cost is involved in bringing about change, that there are others who have been there before who have experienced the same disturbing events, and have gone on. Creation of settings cannot be painless or cost-free, but, if the task is important enough, one accepts the cost and proceeds forward. There is no other choice.

15. Sikes, Walter W. Schlesinger, Lawrence D., and Seashore, Charles N. Renewing Higher Education from Within. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Publishers, 1974. $9.94 (XIV, 184 bibl., index)

This book fulfills a twofold purpose: first, it accounts for the work and success of six change teams between 1970 and 1974; second, it draws the profit from these specific experiences to give instructions to other institutions on how to organize change teams and how to make their function as potentially successful as possible.

After an introductory chapter, the authors concern themselves with some of the factors which help make probable a "need for change." Included are the familiar economic factors, the disenchantment of the public with higher education, development of collective bargaining, rediscussion of the goals of higher education, as well as a considerable number of "personal frustrations," affecting students, faculty, and administrators. The counterpart to chapter two is the next section, "Blocks to Change and Responses." These include difficulties in demonstrating the need for change, narrow-mindedness, ambiguity in the role assigned to administrators, not knowing how to go about it, political problems, competition over assignment of priorities, and the "difficulty of maintaining volunteer efforts." The authors conclude the chapter with a summary of advantages of using a team approach toward change on campus. Chapter four is then devoted to an explanation of "the action-research team approach," preceding a detailed examination of the case histories of the teams which were the basis for much of the empirical data in the first part of this book. The sixth chapter, "Putting it All Together," summarizes what the various teams discovered in their work, thus leading to the second part of the volume, entitled "Manual for Change Teams."

Included here are instructions on how to get started, on recruitment, on goal selection, on how to build a team, how to go about working for change, how to remain in touch with the organization, on the use of consultants, and on "action-oriented research." The final chapter, "Designs for Facilitating Team Development," contains brief instructions with corresponding cross-references to earlier chapters. There is a full bibliography, including especially referenced works which are evidently useful in the process of developing a team.

16. Watzlawick, P., Weakland, J. and Fisch, R. Change. Norton: New York, 1974.

Like an earlier, excellent volume, entitled Pragmatics of Human Communication, this book reflects some of the creative and synthesizing theories and suggestions of Watzlawick and his colleagues. Of particular value is Watzlawick's discussion of first and second order change (cf. the theories of Bateson in Steps to an Ecology of the Mind).

C. College Faculty: General

1. Clark, Burton. Faculty Culture. The Center for Research and Development in Higher Education, The University of California, Berkeley, October, 1962.

This is an interesting article in which Clark specifies some of the reasons why it is appropriate to view faculty at colleges and universities as a variety of culture within the larger society. He notes the development of subcultures within the academic profession focused around career goals, individual competencies, the orientation of the college toward a general or specific public, the size of the institution and the kinds of rewards differing schools provide their faculty. The article provides a valuable, heuristic perspective for the study of college faculty with their institutions.

2. Commission on Academic Tenure in Higher Education, Faculty Tenure, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1975.

Faculty Tenure is a definitive work. It has become the handbook on the topic with an enduring impact equal to that of the 1940 AAUP statement. This book shows exactly how, with its enormous variations, the tenure system operations. Arguments old and new, for and against tenure are succinctly laid down and fully evaluated. Many alternatives to tenure and thoroughly discussed, with pros and cons clearly stated. Forty-seven detailed and sweeping recommendations for modification and improvement are presented. This book is invaluable for every person in higher education--faculty members, administrators, members of governing boards, and officers of state systems.

3. Dykes, Archie R. Faculty Participation in Academic Decision Making. American Council on Education, 1785 Massachusetts Avenue, Washington, D.C., 1968.

This study is based on interviews conducted with 20% of the faculty of a large, midwestern university (N=106). A random sample stratified for professional rank was used, with those faculty who had major administrative duties, such as department heads, excluded. The interviewers sought to find out which faculty members participate in decisions made at the university and what motivates them to do so. They sought reasons why faculty might be inhibited from participating, and what faculty thought their ideal role in these matters should be.

4. Feuer, Lewis. The Scientific Intellectual. Basic Books. New York, 1963.

An analysis of the psychosocial elements which are and have been present in the rise of science. Feuer attempts to go beyond the notion of the scientist as a product of the protestant ethic (Merton) or of the accidents of theological quackery (Koestler). Feuer emphasizes the notion of the scientist as this-worldly, of controlling phenomena previously thought to be magic or god-given.

5. Gaff, Jerry. Toward Faculty Renewal. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1975.

Probably the definitive review to date of the expanding field of faculty development. Though Gaff does not provide a series of guidelines that are immediately useful, his descriptive accounts should be valuable to the person who is starting to work with faculty. Gaff's list of current and potential program characteristics is particularly intriguing. He notes that faculty development is essentially peripheral to most collegiate institutions, though impacting in a significant manner on some faculty. Gaff believes that faculty development must be more firmly imbedded in the institution or it will soon die.

6. Light, D. "Thinking about Faculty," Daedalus, 1974, 103, 258-264.

Light briefly reflects on the changing character of American higher education, noting the lose of faculty who are primarily concerned with higher education and undergraduate teaching. He notes that the academic profession, as controlled by the academic disciplines, dictates that faculty be primarily concerned with research and scholarship, even though a large majority of faculty are not active researchers or scholars. He recommends that the academic life be restructured to conform to the reality of student need and faculty activity.

7. Livesey, H. The Professors. New York: Charterhouse, 1975.

Herbert Livesey notes that:

> . . . the American college professor has been the most pampered professional in our society. Despite . . . grievances of often dubious legitimacy . . . no other occupational group can match the accumulated compensations, both economic and psychic, of the professoriate. Only in private do professors concede this reality.... What they already have is impressive. (Pg.4)

Livesey cites the impressive salaries of most faculty (especially given the nine month year), as compared to other salaried professional and technical workers in the United States. He also observes that the professor's obligations are comparatively low. The college teacher must report to the typical campus no more than one hundred and twenty days of each calendar year--though Livesey does acknowledge the fact that additional time is taken up in classroom preparation, committee work, etc.

At the heart of Livesey's contention that the college professor is in a highly favored profession is the notion of freedom:

> No other worker enjoys it to the same degree or in as many dimensions. Being a professor means nearly half of every year free to read, to study, to travel, to idle, to be with one's family.... In a broader sense, it means the freedom to speak vigorously on any issue with little fear of economic reprisal. (pg. 27)

Livesey, however, would be the first to admit that there, and other tangible benefits that are available to the college professor (e.g., free tuition for his/her children, excellent retirement plans), cannot account for the rich diversity of faculty. His book itself is primarily devoted to an exposition of the unique needs and interests of several exceptional professors. Furthermore, Livesey finds that the primary interests and goals of faculty generally lie outside the domain of salary, benefits and reduced obligations. Livesey is probably accurate in emphasizing the economic and psychic freedom associated with the college teaching profession, but he has not explored all relevant dimensions of this motivating factor nor examined many of the other motivating factors to be found in the professorial life of a productive faculty member.

8. Miller, Richard I. Evaluating Faculty Performance. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc., Publishers, 1972.

A fundamental theme of this book is that if faculty and administrators cannot successfully resolve the issue of evaluating faculty performance, it is quite likely to be undertaken by outside agencies. Within this context, Miller outlines a model for the overall evaluation of faculty performance which takes into account nine areas of evaluation. He maintains that by selecting from appropriate areas, the evaluation needs of different kinds of institutions can be met. The model is designed to be quite practical. Sample evaluation forms and a point-by point procedure for its implementation in a number of different institutional contexts are presented. An extensive annotated bibliography on faculty evaluation is also included.

9. Pirsig, Robert Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance: An Inquiry into Values. New York: Morrow, 1974. Bantam, 1975.

There is richness and power in this book that must be experienced. The title may put you off. Don't let it. This autobiographical tale organized around the experiences of a father and son on a motorcycle trip reaches much beyond that. The nature of reality and how one might comprehend it and communicate it to others, the fine line between sanity and insanity, the impact of institutions of higher education on individuals as they attempt to learn and to teach others are explored with unmatched clarity and vigor. The overriding question is, how does one make sense out of one's life in the search for understanding in order that one may know and choose quality? The intensity of the author's search and the cost that it extracts is discomforting. But for everyone who has attempted to follow this same path the story rings true. In many respects this work can be seen as a more personalized view of the change process paralleling that of Sarason.

10. Rieff, Philip, ed. On Intellectuals, Doubleday; Garden City, New York, 1969.

A series of essays, theoretical essays and case studies, focusing on the role of intellectuals in society. Parsons wants to differentiate between 'intellectual' as a role capacity distinguished by emphasis on 'culture,' as opposed to those (executives) who see 'society' as primary. The distinction is difficult to hold, especially in the light of the case studies.

Section III: Theory and Research on Faculty Motivation

A. Academic Culture and Faculty Motivation

Bloom, M., Ralph, N. and Freedman, M. "Patterns of Faculty Response to Growing Student Diversity," in Freedman, M. (Ed.), Facilitating Faculty Development. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1973, pp. 29-48.

Brown, J. and Shukraft, R. Personal Development and Professional Practice in College and University Professors. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation (Graduate Theological Union, Berkeley, California, 1971).

Freedman, M. (Ed.) Facilitating Faculty Development. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1973.

Freedman, M. et al. Academic Culture and Faculty Development. (In Preparation: Wright Institute, 2728 Durant Ave., Berkeley, California 94704), 1976.

Freedman, M. and Sanford, N. "The Faculty Member Yesterday and Today", in Freedman, M. (Ed.) Facilitating Faculty Development. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1973, pp. 1-16.

Ralph, N. "Stages of Faculty Development", in Freedman, M. (Ed.) Facilitating Faculty Development. San Francisco: Jossey Bass, 1973, pp. 61-68.

Sanford, N. "Academic Culture and the Teacher's Development," Soundings, 1971, 357-371.

Beginning with the exceptional doctoral dissertation written by Brown and Shukraft (1971), members of the Wright Institute have interviewed over 700 faculty at four collegiate institutions (Central Michigan University, Stanford University, Johnston College at the University of Redlands, and the University of California at Berkeley). They have arrived at several important conclusions with reference to faculty motivation. First, most

of the faculty who have been interviewed regard themselves as effective teachers, and want to be viewed by their students and peers as effective. Yet, low priority is usually given to teaching by these faculty. "Teachers at distinguished institutions," according to Sanford (1971):

> are oriented not to their undergraduate student but to their discipline. They want to present their subject rather than to influence the development of students, and they prefer graduate to undergraduate teaching. They define themselves primarily as members of their discipline, and their self-esteem depends most heavily upon the esteem of colleagues in their field and their adult advancement within it.

In terms of the teaching styles described above, Sanford and his associates seem to have observed a predominance of content-centered teachers in the institutions they visited.

Sanford also points out that most college and university professors tend to share a "culture" rather than a profession (e.g., undergraduate teaching). This culture is a set of shared values and perspectives concerning teaching and the disciplines. While this culture provides some defensive support for the faculty member's psychic flight from the classroom, it apparently provides few satisfactions for many faculty. Sanford has observed widespread unhappiness and cynicism among the faculty who have been interviewed (cf. Freedman and Sanford, 1973; Freedman, et al., 1976, Chapter 1). The "dream" has been shattered for most faculty: they find very little connection between the achievement of academic status and the achievement of most other human needs. The entire field of collegiate instruction might be considered in a state of "mid-career transition" -- a transition that has been exacerbated by the dramatic reduction in public support for academically-based research and, ultimately, for higher education itself (Freedman, et al., 1976, Chapter 1).

In addition to their description of the academic culture, members of the Wright Institute have affirmed the validity of several models of adult development. Sanford (1971) describes the need for a sense of competence, self-discovery and discovery of others -- Erikson's stages of identity, intimacy and generativity. Bloom, Ralph, and Freedman (1973, Chapter 3) have proposed three patterns of faculty response to the student movement in the late 1960's:

> First, standing pat, or sticking strictly -- even rigidly -- to the pattern of values and behavior towards students that existed before the appearance of student unrest on the campus; second, radical accommodation to the new student values and behaviors, a kind of total flipping over to a new outlook, almost an identification with students; and third, a kind of integration of the new values into a scheme of things broad enough and flexible enough to embrace the new without any total rejection of the old (Sanford, 1971).

Ralph (1973, Chapter 5) also describes a five stage model of faculty development, and estimates the percentage of faculty being interviewed who bring at each stage. The stage one (16% of the faculty), the faculty member tends to be primarily affiliated with his/her disciplinary group. This stage seems to correspond to Loevinger's "conformist" stage and Levinson-Hodgkinson's stage of "getting into the adult world." At the second stage (21%), the primary sources of authority (his/her discipline) remain intact; however, the knowledge within the discipline becomes increasingly complex. Loevinger's "conscientiousness" and Levinson-Hodgkinson's "settling down" seem to parallel this stage. At the third stage (16% doubt sets in and permissiveness seems to pervade his/her teaching. Levinson and Hodgkinson describe a comparable battle for the adult male to "become his own man." Loevinger speaks of a striving for autonomy. At this stage, the faculty member seems to be open to choice and diversity, yet has not fully integrated his/her diverse perspectives.

At stages four (21%) and five (26%), the faculty member is more sensitive to the developmental needs of students and is more interested in the processes than the content of education. The faculty member will approach his students from a somewhat more structured perspective than in stage three, but will design his/her interactions with students in order to maximize the autonomy of the students. These stages seem to match Loevinger's stage of ego integrity and Levinson-Hodgkinson's optimistic impressions concerning middle age stabilization and growth.

B. Adult Development and Faculty Motivation

1. Hodgkinson, H. "Adult Development: Implications for Faculty and Administrators," Educational Record, Fall 1974, pp. 263-274.

The developmental stages of faculty have been rather extensively discussed during the past two years -- in part as a result of this article by Harold Hodgkinson. Borrowing heavily from the work of David Levinson, Hodgkinson describes the primary developmental tasks of faculty at various age levels, making full use of his own extensive observations of faculty and readings from relevant literature.

Hodgkinson begins with faculty who are "leaving the family." He notes that collegiate institutions can function as intermediary testing ground for adult behavior. They are protected settings, which are essentially free from the demands of the typical world of work. For the faculty member, this sheltered environment is the one in which he/she lives as an adult. Consequently, he/she is relatively isolated, states Hodgkinson (pg. 265) "from the psychological,economic and social demands that the world of work places on most people, especially those who work with their hands and those who could not physically leave home."

In "getting into the adult world," the young (age 22-29) faculty member is also confronted with several unique conditions. As a graduate student, he/she usually is given an opportunity to test out various aspects of the academic career (teaching, research, scholarship, business, etc.). Furthermore, the "dream" of this age level is quite similar for most aspiring academicians: a financially and intellectually successful book, prestigious advisement and consultation, leadership in one's discipline, getting tenure, getting large research grants and "being beloved by generations of students" (pg. 226).

Though Hodgkinson does not mention this fact (and may disagree with it), the role of mentor is quite different from most faculty than for other professionals. Typically, most professionals find one or more faculty during their undergraduate or graduate educational experience that is inspiring. This faculty member serves as a "short-term mentor," advising the students on career-choices, serving as a model to students in the way they perceive the demands and challenges of a specific profession. For the faculty member, however, the mentorship may continue beyond the years of formal education, for many more aspects of the mentor's professional life are appropriate to him/her than to other professionals. As a result, the mentor of faculty members may be a lingering image that influences this faculty member's academic goals and styles, as well as his/her interests in teaching. Among those people who extensively interview faculty about their own career development, important information almost inevitably emerges when the faculty member is asked to describe the one teacher who had the greatest influence on his/her decision to become a college teacher.

The major developmental task of "settling down," which occupies attention of most 30-38 year old faculty, tends to be focused on the goal of achieving tenure, rank, status or leadership in a specific committee. At this age level, according to Hodgkinson (pg. 268), "most faculty . . . are still mainly dependent on others because of the slowness with which higher education rewards ability and competence . . . ." The second half of this age period, labeled "becoming one's own man," tends to be the period of peak activity for faculty, in terms of publications and research efforts; not coincidentally, it is also the period when critical decisions are made about tenure, departmental leadership, etc. These decisions tend to produce great stress in the faculty member's personal and professional lives (often leading to personal and marital crises), for these decisions often have a long term consequence in the career of faculty (especially given the decreased career mobility of most faculty

during this decade).

During the mid-career transition, which Levinson and Hodgkinson link to ages 39-43, many questions tend to be asked concerning whether or not the faculty member is truly engaged in a "profession," given the perceived autonomy and power of doctors and lawyers. Faculty also must often revise their "dream" to a more realistic level. They must face the facts that if they remain in the academic world, they will teach at a collegiate institution that is not highly prestigous, they will not be treated with any special favor by their colleagues, and they will retain only a modicum of autonomy, influence and power. Many faculty leave teaching at this point.

At age 43, Levinson and Hodgkinson speak of a period of "restablization." The faculty member may become a mentor to one or more younger faculty or students. He/she is likely to value the institution for what it is, rather than for what it should be (provided that he/she has decided to stay in teaching). Hodgkinson describes this period of life for the faculty member in quite positive terms:

> Many faculty members between the ages of 43 and 50 find a set of activities that orchestrate life and provide meaningful alternatives and supplements to teaching and research. Additionally, "productivity" becomes defined by the person's own goals rather than by an external set of criteria. Around 50, these activities have often provided the faculty member with a host of new friends, often people engaged in other forms of work besides teaching, and this may open many doors on how life is to be lived. For many faculty, then, this is a period in which there seems not be be enough time in the day.

Though Levinson discontinues his description of adult stages of development at this period, Hodgkinson speculates about developmental tasks that face the faculty member beyond age 50. Faculty members must often reduce their professional commitments, because of decreased physical energy, and may find that this reduced commitment yields greater autonomy. Faculty may also bring "greater perspective to their teaching and writing, the discipline may be less important and the concern of humanity may increase in importance." (pg. 273). In this hopeful frame of mind, Hodgkinson leaves us to speculate about the transitions to retirement for faculty.

2. Eble, Kenneth E., "Career Development of the Effective College Teacher," American Association of University Professors: Washington, D.C. 1971.

The preparation of this document involved gathering and studying information and visiting some 70 colleges and universities to talk with students, faculty, and administrators concerning career

development of the effective college teachers. In addition, an informal national survey of systematic efforts being made to improve teachers' career development was conducted. The results were almost totally negative. In light of this, this document considers the problems and possibilities of career development as they appear in relation to individual needs and aspirations at various stages in a career and to the characteristics and aims of colleges and universities. A selective bibliography is included.

C. Teaching Style and Faculty Motivation

1. Adelson, J., "The Teacher As Model," The American Scholar, 30, 1961, 395-401.

One of the first attempts to categorize different styles of teaching was made by Joseph Adelson who drew an analogy between primitive modes of healing and types of teaching:

> The teacher as shaman: Here the teacher's orientation is narcissistic. The public manner does not matter; this type of teacher is not necessarily vain or exhibitionistic; he may in fact appear to be withdrawn, diffident, even humble. Essentially however he keeps the audience's attention focused on himself. He invites us to observe the personality in its encounter with the subject matter . . . . When this orientation is combined with unusual gifts, we have a charismatic teacher, one of those outstanding and memorable personalities who seem more than life-size. The charismatic teacher is marked by power, energy and commitment . . . . In some cases the narcissistic teacher's impression on us is strong but transient; he moves us, but the spell does not survive the moment. We admire him as we admire a great performer . . . .
>
> The teacher as priest: The priestly healer claims his power not through personal endowment, but through his office: he is the agent of an omnipotent authority. Do we have a parallel to this in teaching? I would say it is the teacher who stresses not his personal virtues, but his membership in a powerful or admirable collectivity . . . . The narcissistic teacher to some degree stands apart from his discipline and seems to say: "I am valuable in myself," The priestly teacher says: "I am valuable for what I belong to. I represent and personify a collective identity." . . . One of the teacher's tasks is to help the student absorb the sense of the collective past and accept the common blue print for the future . . . . One of the distinctive features of this mode of teaching is that both teacher and student may share a common model or group of models, either exalted contemporaries or Great Ancestors. . . . . The educational process is in some degree an extended rite of passage; the teacher's role is to prepare the student for the trials he will endure, and to administer the tests that will initiate him.

The teacher as mystic healer: The mystic healer finds the course of illness in the patient's personality. He rids the patient of disease by helping him to correct an inner flaw or to realize a hidden strength. The analogy here -- perhaps a remote one -- is to the teacher I will term altruistic. He concentrates neither on himself, nor the subject-matter, nor the discipline, but on the student, saying: "I will help you become what you are." He may recall Michelangelo's approach to sculpture: looking at the raw block of marble, he tried to uncover the statue within it.

So does the altruistic teacher regard his unformed students; this type of teacher keeps his own achievement and personality secondary; he works to help the student find what is best and most essential within himself . . . . (This) is a model-less approach to teaching; the teacher points neither to himself nor to some immediately visible figure, but chooses to work with his students' potential and toward an intrinsically abstract or remote ideal . . . . (This) mode of teaching demands great acumen, great sensitivity - the ability to vary one's attack according to the phase of teaching and to the student -- now lenient, now stern, now encouraging, now critical.

Adelson provides an intriguing and graphic portrayal of three different kinds of teaching; however, his description of the teacher as mystic healer, the one style he apparently values most highly, seems the least precise. Furthermore, this threefold categorization does not seem to have confronted the full complexity of the teaching process.

2. Mann, R., et al. The College Classroom. New York: Wiley and Sons, 1970

Richard Mann and his colleagues have defined six different styles of teaching, all of which are potentially effective in certain instructional settings. These six are:

The teacher as expert: This aspect of the teacher role conjures up the disparity between teacher and student with respect to the knowledge, experience and wisdom they can apply to the subject matter of the course. The teacher is the expert, at least within certain defined areas of knowledge. His presumed expertise underlies both his right to be there and the students' interest in taking the course.

The teacher as formal authority: Viewed from the perspective of the larger social structure within which the college classroom is located, the teacher is an agent not only of instruction but also of control and evaluation. He is responsible to a group of administrators and external agents who expect him to insure uniformity of standards and a justifiable evaluation system based on merit when he presents his set of grades at the end of the course.

The teacher as socializing agent: . . . the teacher's goals typically reach far beyond a particular classroom or course. The teacher is usually a member of the community of scholars, accredited by a professional or academic discipline, and he is also a member of an institution that may be highly relevant to a student's occupational aspirations. The teacher resembles in some sense a gatekeeper to a vocational world. He serves as a representative of his field, and especially of the values, assumptions, and style of intellectual life that characterizes his discipline. Frequently, it is he who does not pass a student to the next plateau or screening process, or he may do so with varying degrees of support and pleasure.

The teacher as facilitator: There are times in the teacher-student relationship when the teacher seems much less absorbed with his own expertise, his power, and his field than with the aspirations of the students . . . . By not assuming that he can specify what skills or goals they bring with them, he created for himself the complex task of determining what individual students have come to do, what they seem able to do already, and what they might need help in doing better . . . From this it follows that the typical activities of the teacher as facilitator may entail far more listening and questioning than lecturing and assigning.

The teacher as ego ideal: (Students) . . . use their teacher in the continuous process of formulating and approaching their ideals. It may only be some of the students some of the time, and the idealization may be limited to certain aspects of the teacher's total performance, but this process is an important part of the college classroom.

The teacher as person: The teacher as a person aims at engaging students in a mutually validating relationship. Ideally, both the student and teacher feel sufficient trust and freedom to share their ideas and personal reactions not only to the course material, but also to matters that may fall outside the usual definition of what is relevant in a classroom.

3. Axelrod, J. The University Teacher As Artist. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1973.

A teaching styles taxonomy has been developed by Joseph Axelrod. These styles or "prototypes" as he labels them, are first described in terms of two different modes of teaching:

Didactic modes: The teaching styles we classify under the didactic modes are designed to achieve objectives that are generally clear and relatively easy to formulate. These objectives include the mastery of a definite body of information

or the acquisition of specific motor-kinetic skills or specific mathematical or verbal skills (in English as well as in other languages). The didactic modes thus stress either cognitive knowledge acquired primarily by memorization, or mastery of skills acquired primarily by repetition and practice.

Evocative modes: The basic difference between the didactic modes and the evocative modes is the method used in the learning process: the major means employed in the evocative modes are inquiry and discovery.

Although Axelrod indicates that there are various styles of didactic teaching, he does not specifically describe them, for his primary focus is on the evocative modes.

Each of the evocative modes focus on the process of inquiry and discovery. There are major differences, however, in the ways in which these processes take place, depending on the relative emphasis placed on the teacher, the learner, and the subject matter or skill being taught. Axelrod identifies three different styles based on these relative emphases. "One of the major teacning progotypes focuses on subject matter," Alexrod writes,

> and it is therefore the other two elements -- teachers and learners -- that must undergo adjustment. Neither teachers nor learners are permitted to reshape the subject matter, except in quite minor ways. The subject matter is simply not expected to accommodate itself to them, no matter what their requirements or special conditions might be. Teachers who are subject-matter-oriented usually view with alarm any suggestion that the subject matter of a course ought to be changed

The second teaching prototype focuses on the instructor himself:

> The instructor-centered teacher believes that the other two elements -- students and subject matter -- should accommodate themselves to him. He is, after all, the possessor of knowledge and a model for learners . . . . Students and subject matter remain important for the instructor-centered teacher, but they must be adjusted to fit what he is.

The third prototype focuses on the student:

> Student-centered professors argue that the teaching-learning process will not be effective if conditions require the student element to be vastly reshaped before the process can get started. Their view is that if the student is expected to accommodate himself to the other two elements in the educational transaction, if he is pushed into a shape other than his own, the whole educational process is endangered.

Finally, Axelrod identifies two different types of student-centered prototypes:

> One type of professor emphasizes the personal development of the student, but limits the scope of his endeavor to the development of the student's mind. These professors follow the Student-as-mind Prototype . . . . The second type of student-centered professor emphasizes the personal development of the whole student -- his entire personality and not just his mind. These professors follow the Student as-person Prototype.

4. Bergquist,W. and Phillips, S. A Faculty Development Handbook. Washington, D. C.: Council For the Advancement of Small Colleges, 1974.

Bergquist and Phillips have attempted to summarize the information we now have about teaching and learning styles (as well as course goals and environmental factors, which may be as important as teaching and learning styles) and have integrated this information in a three-category system:

> Content-centered teaching and learning: The primary task in this mode of teaching and learning is to cover the material of a course or discipline in a coherent and systematic manner. The content of various courses within a discipline is usually kept discrete, and the organization of the discipline is ordered in generally the same way in most colleges and universities. The teacher is viewed as expert, formal authority, or priest"; the most compatible students are those who exhibit competitive or dependent learning styles. The goals of courses with this orientation are usually set by the demands of the material; evaluation is usually objective and performance is measured against the material. Lectures and formal discussions are the usual method of instruction. The content of these courses is primarily cognitively and/or skills oriented, and the environment will probably either be oriented toward the teacher as a source of information or will be automated.
>
> Instructor-centered teaching and learning: In this mode of teaching and learning, attention is most often focused on the instructor, not primarily as a source of information, but as a model of the way one should approach a particular field or discipline. The best ways of understanding and handling the concepts of the course are demonstrated by the instructor's own behavior and personality. The teacher is usually viewed as a socializing agent or ego idea; he is a "shaman" and performer; when particularly talented, he can be very charismatic. He may make dramatic use of the lecture format while discussion sessions tend to be oriented toward him. Students who are highly dependent will rather non-critically embrace this mode; participant students will approve of this mode if the instructor appears to be competent; the discouraged

worker may find this mode comfortable if the instructor pays some attention to him. Both the goals and standards of evaluation are usually set by the teacher, often in a subjective manner. The content of these courses, though often cognitively oriented, may be either teacher-or interaction-oriented, with the focus in the latter case clearly on the teacher.

Student-centered teaching and learning: This kind of teaching and learning emphasizes the intellectual training and/or personal growth of the students. The teacher acts primarily as a facilitator and as a person in relationship to students who are collaborative or independent. This mode is also appropriate for the avoidant student if he gives the experience a chance. Rather heavy emphasis is often given in this mode to establishing learning contracts between teacher and student which enable them to define specific learning goals, resources, and means of evaluation which are uniquely tailored for each student. The teaching methods most frequently used are student run discussions, group discussions, role plays, simulations, field work, and independent study. The content here will be either cognitively or affective oriented, sheltered experience-oriented or experience-oriented. (pgs. 18-19)

D. Work Environment and Faculty Motivation

1. Aebi, C., "The Application of Herzberg's Motivation-Hygiene Theory to College Educators as Tested by Two Different Methodologies," Dissertation Abstracts, 1972,3979-A.

Charles Aebi tested the Herzberg Two-Factor Theory of Motivation in his assessment of the job attitudes of faculty and administrators at fifteen private church-related liberal arts colleges. Aebi found that for college educators all motivators (sources of intrinsic motivation) contribute more to job satisfaction than to job dissatisfaction, and that all "hygienes" (extrinsic motivation) contribute more to job dissatisfaction than to job satisfaction. Work itself was identified as the sourse of greatest satisfaction and working conditions were found to be the greatest source of dissatisfaction. Aebi also found that the Herzberg theory was applicable to faculty but not to administrators, and that the theory was least applicable to women, faculty over sixty years old, and faculty making under $6,000 per year.

2. Ballyeat, Ralph E., "Factors Affecting the Acquisition and Retention of College Faculty." Final Report, Office of Education (DHEW), Washington, D. C., 1968.

Employment satisfactions and dissatisfactions of college faculty are examined. The majority of faculty turnover was discerned to result from dissatisfaction with administrative policies relating to facilities and faculty personnel policies that do not meet the needs of a faculty. Fifty-seven factors are identified that could provide a high motivational influence upon a faculty member to either remain at his/her college or seek employment elsewhere. Many of these factors could be

implemented at an institution without a significant financial output.

3. Cohen, A. "Community College Faculty Job Satisfaction," Research in Higher Education,1974,2,369-375.

In a study of job satisfaction among faculty, Arther Cohen asked 222 community college faculty from 12 colleges to differentiate those aspects of their job which made them feel satisfied, and those aspects which made them feel dissatisfied. Over two-thirds of the respondents identified student learning or interaction with students as primary factors leading to satisfaction. Conversely, over two-thirds of the respondents identified administrative, collegial and/or organizational difficulties as factors leading to job dissatisfaction.

4. Gloster, Emily D. "A Faculty Morale Study in a Community College," Ed.D. Practicum; Nova University, 1975.

A questionnaire was developed to measure faculty morale and was administered to all full-time faculty members (N=51) at a community college. The most frequent positive morale items marked dealt with academic freedom, faculty cooperation and friendliness, and with student rapport. The most frequest negative item dealt with physical limitations of the classroom. A review of the literature and the survey instrument are included.

5. Morris, J., "Factors Influencing Job Satisfaction/Dissatisfaction Among Faculty in Selected Private Liberal Arts Colleges," Dissertation Abstracts, 1972, 3211-A.

John Morris (1972) examined job satisfaction and dissatisfaction among faculty in nine liberal arts colleges. His findings suggest that faculty find job satisfaction or no job satisfaction as a result of factors that are intrinsic to the work process. Respondents also identified extrinsic factors as reasons for job dissatisfaction or a lack of job dissatisfaction.

6. Miller, Marilyn V., Ed. On Teaching Adults: An Anthology, Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults: Brookline, Mass., 1960.

Three essays deal with an overall view of adult education, its challenges, problems, and rewards. Other essays are concerned with the position of the university in adult education, the pressures upon it from without and within, and the philosophy of education. Several articles discuss teachers of adults, the types of people they are, types of responsibilities they have, and the qualities that are appropriate to a good geacher. The nature of the adult, his roles, attitudes, learning abilities -- as well as general principles of good teaching of adults -- are also considered.

7. Ryans, D. Characteristics of Teachers: Their Description, Comparison and Appraisal. Washington D. C.: American Council on Education, 1960.

Isaacson, R., McKeachie, W. and Milholland, J., "Correlation of Teacher Personality Variables and Student Ratings," Journal of Educational Psychology, 1963,54,110-117.

Some research has been conducted on the relationship between the personality characteristics of teachers and their ratings by students, though the results have shown that those traits which are valued in our culture, e.g. friendliness, cooperativeness, agreeableness, restraint and objectivity (Ryans), are also the traits associated with effective teaching. In one study on college teaching (Isaacson, McKeachie and Milholland) -- to illustrate the process -- teaching assistants in a psychology class were asked to describe their colleagues in terms of five traits or characteristics: surgency (assertiveness, energy, etc.), agreeableness, dependability, emotional stability and culture (artistic, effectively intellectual, etc.). Only the fifth trait (culture) was found to significantly differentiate teaching assistants in their instructional ratings by students. The failure of several of the other traits to significantly differentiate successful and unsuccessful teachers, however, did lead the researchers to speculate that students might differ in their reactions to these traits (i.e., differing student learning styles), thereby cancelling out any significant effects.

8. Wilson, R., Gaff, J., et al. College Professors and Their Impact on Students. New York: Wiley and Sons, 1975.

A rather extensive study was conducted by Wilson, Gaff and their associates at the Center for Research and Development (Berkeley California) on college teachers and their impact on students. During the winter of 1968-69, a research team from the Center surveyed 1,069 faculty from six institutions regarding a number of issues in higher education. The faculty were asked to indicate the importance they felt should be given to certain criteria for salary and promotion. Faculty from five of the institutions (University of California, Davis; Hofstra College; Bard College; University of Puget Sound; Chabot College) indicated that teaching effectiveness should be given the most weight. The faculty at California State University at Los Angeles, however, indicated that equal importance should be given to research activities and teaching effectiveness. Only thirty-nine percent of the respondents at Cal State Los Angeles were convinced that their effectiveness as teachers "was of high importance in actual practice" and again, the faculty at Cal State LA were the only respondents who viewed scholarly activity "as the primary vehicle of advancement." Given that the primary mission of the CSUC system is teaching, this is potentially a rather disturbing result.

When Wilson and Gaff (pgs. 24-25 examined alternative styles of teaching, they discovered another difference peculiar to the state college:

> Teaching at the state college cannot be adequately characterized as either subject matter-oriented or student-centered. On almost all questionnaire items concerning teaching practices, the percentages of responses of faculty members at the state college fell between those of the other two types of schools (university or community college). Yet these responses do not seem to comprise a genuine alternative approach; the approach contains elements of the other two approaches. It has been suggested by other research . . . that state colleges have not developed a unified purpose or role. This may be because the state college draws faculty from a more diverse pool than do either the university or community college. . . . Many of (the state colleges') faculty are really university oriented and wish to maintain themselves as subject matter specialists and researchers. Many of them are more like community college teachers who have little interest in research and are more student-centered in their teaching.

Wilson and Gaff (pg. 25) go on to state that:

> Some evidence of the frustrated upward aspiration of many of these state college faculty can be found in the fact that they see deficiencies in their students. . . . The university faculty are relatively more satisfied with their students, probably because the students are actually less deficient in these ways, and the community college faculty are more satisfied because they do not hold high expectations for their students in these areas. But the state college faculty seem to have higher aspirations . . . while believing that their students are not particularly interested in ideas. . .

The implications to be drawn from these findings are of course highly relevant for a study of faculty motivation being done in the California State University and College system. Unfortunately, the data are now somewhat dated; hence, we do not know if they are still applicable. Assuming that the data still hold some creditability, then several critical issues come immediately to the surface. First, the "dream" of the Cal. State faculty member appears to be viable, yet troublesome, given the priorities of the institution in which he/she teaches and the nature of the student population he/she is to serve. The discrepancy between dream and reality may be an important source of job dissatisfaction and may precipitate a particularly stressful mid-life transition in the late 30's for faculty in this system.

Secondly, the discrepancy between academic culture and formal institutional rewards of which we spoke in the previous section, may be particularly noteworthy in the CSUC system. Third, teaching does not appear to be an activity which faculty in the CSUC system find inherently motivating. Thus, in order to increase the interest of CSUC faculty in teaching one will apparently either have to replace the current faculty (an impractical and disasterous alternative), or identify those specific aspects of teaching which faculty do find motivating and encourage faculty

to effectively integrate this aspect with less interesting aspects of their teaching.

One can, of course, reward faculty for their teaching by giving them a larger salary, improved working conditions (e.g., bigger offices) or less work. Yet this type of reward does decrease job dissatisfaction, but does not provide the type of job satisfaction that is needed to increase productivity.

9. Zimmermann, Robert R. "Internal, External and Central Incentives of College Teaching," Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Psychological Association, San Francisco, Calif., 1968.

A set of motivational needs is described that is necessary for a satisfactory adjustment to the profession of college teaching. The college teacher is not motivated by economic or survival needs, but rather by this central incentive system. Man can respond to this system by enjoying pleasure for pleasure's sake. In the case of the college professor, pleasure is derived from the maintenance and perpetration of scholarly, intellectual, and unproductive ideas. It is only within an academic community that this form of pleasure may be maintained.

WORKING PAPER ON FACULTY MOTIVATION:

INGREDIENTS FOR A COMPREHENSIVE THEORY

OF FACULTY MOTIVATION

Section I: Introduction

In organizing our review of motivational theory and its relevance to an understanding of faculty motivation, we will work with two different organizing principles. First, we will make a distinction between a treatment of a motive as a trait or characteristic that typifies a specific person (faculty member) at a specific point in time, and a treatment of a motive as the current state of the person with reference to his/her past and future life, and his/her interaction with the surrounding social and physical environment. Using a trait theory of motivation we would describe a faculty member as being "aggressive," "achievement-oriented" or "curious." A state theory would instead describe conditions under which a faculty member would be likely to act aggressively, would be concerned about achievement or would appear to be curious. The state conditions can be either intrinsic (primarily attributable to factors residing within the individual) or extrinsic (primarily attributable to external environmental factors). We will consequently consider three different types of motivational theories: (1) intrinsic trait, (2) intrinsic state and (3) extrinsic.

Section II: Intrinsic Trait Theories

In a classic study of personality Henry Murray (1938) describes the dynamics of motivational states in terms of the interaction between the needs of an individual and the supportive or hindering nature (press) of the environment in which the individual lives (cf. McClelland, 1955). As a means of understanding the nature of this interaction, Murray developed an elaborate taxonomy of both needs and presses. More than any other aspect of his theoretical

work, the need taxonomy has remained influential and relevant to the present time.

The twenty needs that were categorized by Murray have been summarized by Hall and Lindzey (1957) and are listed in this summarized form in Table One.

One of Murray's needs has attracted extensive theoretical and empirical attention during the past two decades: need achievement. The term "need achievement" has been used by Atkinson (1964, p. 241), to describe situations in which a person knows that his/her performance will be evaluated by himself and/or others in terms of some standard of excellence and that the consequences of this performance will be either a favorable (success) or unfavorable (failure) evaluation. Apparently, individuals who exhibit high need achievement, usually measured by responses to a highly unstructured "projective" test (the Thematic Apperception Test), are more likely to take pride in accomplishments when success is possible than are the low achievers. Furthermore, those persons who score low on need achievement tests tend to be more motivated by a fear of failure than by a tendency to seek and enjoy success (Atkinson, 1964, p. 241). Consequently, motivation tends to be enhanced following failure and decreased following success among those individuals who are achievement-oriented; whereas motivation is inhibited following failure and enhanced following success among individuals who are low in need achievement (Weiner, 1970).

In order for need achievement to be an influential motive, several social conditions must be met: (1) the individual must consider himself/herself responsible for the outcome (success or failure), (2) there must be explicit knowledge of results so that he/she can determine when he/she has succeeded, and (3) there must be some degree of risk concerning the possibility of success. Under these conditions, the person who expresses high need for achievement will tend to select a task that is challenging, i.e. that holds some prospect of failure. He/she will show "a preference

TABLE 1

ILLUSTRATIVE LIST OF MURRAY'S NEEDS[a]

NEED	BRIEF DEFINITION
n Abasement	To submit passively to external force. To accept injury, blame, criticism, punishment. To surrender. To become resigned to fate. To admit inferiority, error, wrongdoing, or defeat. To confess and atone. To blame, belittle, or mutilate the self. To seek and enjoy pain, punishment, illness, and misfortune.
n Achievement	To accomplish something difficult. To master, manipulate, or organize physical objects, human beings, or ideas. To do this as rapidly and as independently as possible. To overcome obstacles and attain a high standard. To excel oneself. To rival and surpass others. To increase self-regard by the successful exercise of talent.
n Affiliation	To draw near and enjoyably co-operate or reciprocate with an allied other (an other who resembles the subject or who likes the subject). To please and win affection of a cathected object. To adhere and remain loyal to a friend.
n Aggression	To overcome opposition forcefully. To fight. To revenge an injury. To attack, injure, or kill another. To oppose forcefully or punish another.
n Autonomy	To get free, shake off restraint, break out of confinement. To resist coercion and restriction. To avoid or quit activities prescribed by domineering authorities. To be independent and free to act according to impulse. To be unattached, irresponsible. To defy convention.
n Counteraction	To master or make up for a failure by restriving. To obliterate a humiliation by resumed action. To overcome weaknesses, to repress fear. To efface a dishonor by action. To search for obstacles and difficulties to overcome. To maintain self-respect and pride on a high level.
n Defendance	To defend the self against assault, criticism, and blame. To conceal or justify a misdeed, failure, or humiliation. To vindicate the ego.
n Deference	To admire and support a superior. To praise, honor, or eulogize. To yield eagerly to the influence of an allied other. To emulate an exemplar. To conform to custom.

Table 1 (Cont)

NEED	BRIEF DEFINITION
n Dominance	To control one's human environment. To influence or direct the behavior of others by suggestion, seduction, persuasion, or command. To dissuade, restrain, or prohibit.
n Exhibition	To make an impression. To be seen and heard. To excite, amaze, fascinate, entertain, shock, intrigue, amuse, or entice others.
n Harmavoidance	To avoid pain, physical injury, illness, and death. To escape from a dangerous situation. To take precautionary measures.
n Infavoidance	To avoid humiliation. To quit embarrassing situations or to avoid conditions which may lead to belittlement: the scorn, derision, or indifference of others. To refrain from action because of the fear of failure.
n Nurturance	To give sympathy and gratify the needs of a helpless object: an infant or any object that is weak, disabled, tired, inexperienced, infirm, defeated, humiliated, lonely, dejected, sick, mentally confused. To assist an object in danger. To feed, help, support, console, protect, comfort, nurse, heal.
n Order	To put things in order. To achieve cleanliness, arrangement, organization, balance, neatness, tidiness, and precision.
n Play	To act for "fun" without further purpose. To like to laugh and make jokes. To seek enjoyable relaxation of stress. To participate in games, sports, dancing, drinking parties, cards.
n Rejection	To separate oneself from a negatively cathected object. To exclude, abandon, expel, or remain indifferent to an inferior object. To snub or jilt an object.
n Sentience	To seek and enjoy sensuous impressions.
n Sex	To form and further an erotic relationship. To have sexual intercourse.
n Succorance	To have one's needs gratified by the sympathetic aid of an allied object. To be nursed, supported, sustained, surrounded, protected, loved, advised, guided, indulged, forgiven, consoled, To remain close to a devoted protector. To always have a supporter.

Table 1 (Cont)

NEED	BRIEF DEFINITION
n Understanding	To ask or answer general questions. To be interested in theory. To speculate, formulate, analyze, and generalize.

[a]Adapted from Murray, 1938, pp. 152-226.

for intermediate risk" and "a realistic level of aspiration" (Atkinson, 1964, p. 259). Conversely, the person who is dominated by fear of failure will show a low level of aspiration. He/she will select a task that can easily be performed. Furthermore, the high need achiever will be more likely to persist at a task following initial failure than will the low need achiever (Feather, 1961).

Need achievement seems to be a particularly important influence on the behavior of faculty in their professional lives and particularly in the classroom.. On the one hand, college faculty, like most professionals with advanced degrees, are part of a highly competitive milieu in which many highly talented people are vying for a few, often ambiguous rewarded prizes (e.g. a book, grant, award, salary). The achievement-oriented faculty member will tend to value this milieu and will actively seek its rewards. He/she will tend to avoid activities in which success can be neither clearly assessed nor adequately rewarded--such as classroom instruction. The low need achiever, on the other hand, will tend to avoid any risky situation. He/she will probably either engage in "normal science" (cf. Kuhn, 1962), i.e. low risk research, or retreat to the classroom, viewing it not as a challenging setting but rather as a shelter.

Conversely, precisely because the classroom is an active interpersonal setting, some faculty with high needs for affiliation may find classroom instruction to be highly attractive. Yet the social milieu of the collegiate faculty member is not generally supportive of significant affiliation outside the classroom. Professional norms for instructional and scholarly autonomy discourage faculty from collaborating with their colleagues--especially faculty from other departments. Furthermore, the emotional dimensions of affiliation tend to contradict the normative emphasis in American higher education on rationality (cf. Parsons and Platt, 1975).

In summary, need achievement may tend to drive effective, risk-taking faculty out of the classroom, whereas need affiliation may

attract faculty to the classroom, yet be unsatisfied in other aspects of the faculty member's professional life. Neither need achievement nor need affiliation would seem adequately to explain the strong interest of some faculty in teaching; nor would they explain the diversity of styles shown by faculty in their teaching behavior. Other needs which were identified by Murray might provide additional clues as to the motivations of faculty: autonomy, exhibition, avoidance of humiliation, order, play and understanding. Ultimately, all twenty of the needs identified by Murray may play a direct role in determining the daily activities of faculty. Other needs, such as curiosity (Berlyne, 1961) and risk-taking (cf. Kogan and Wallach, 1964) may also play a major influential role.

The Murray Taxonomy, unfortunately, is somewhat static in nature, for it does not provide us with a clear idea about which needs are particularly critical for certain types of activities, or which needs are dependent upon the fulfillment of other needs. Several other need taxonomies do provide this type of hierarchy. Abraham Maslow (1954) has proposed a well-known hierarchy of motives that begins with basic physiological (food, water, etc.) and safety needs. If and when these needs are satisfied, various social needs become increasingly salient: belongingness, love, companionship, warmth. At the fourth level are those needs which are associated with esteem: thinking well of oneself and being well thought of by others.

After the other needs are being met, the needs associated with self-actualization become dominant. Self-actualization, a term which is borrowed from and probably is most articulately defined by Kurt Goldstein (1939), refers in Maslow's theory to a cluster of attributes, such as being realistic (accepting oneself, other people and the natural world for what they are), spontaneous, problem-centered (rather than self-centered) and autonomous; retaining a fresh non-stereotyped perspective; establishing profound and intimate relationships with a few people; possessing democratic values and attitudes; and possessing creativity and nonconformity.

An intriguing variation on the Maslow hierarchy is offered by Robert Ardrey (1966) who suggests that people first need to meet security needs and avoid anxiety, then need to find stimulation and avoid boredom. At the top of Ardrey's hierarchy is the need for identity and avoidance of anonymity.

A third hierarchy of needs is offered by William Schutz (1959) who proposes a three-level model that is specifically applicable to interpersonal and small group settings. Schutz proposes that needs for inclusion in a relationship must first be met: Am I a member of this group? Have I made this person feel comfortable? Does this person want to be with me? The dominant concerns in a relationship or group will revolve around a second issue if the issue of inclusion is successfully resolved. This second issue is control: being in control, being certain where control resides, or being certain that no one is in control of the situation or relationship. At a third level, Schutz proposes the need for affection. He refers not just to sexuality and sentimentality, but also tenderness, openness (disclosure) and trust. Unless issues concerning both inclusion and control are resolved, the needs for affection will not be adequately met. Interpersonal relationships, according to Schutz, are built around an agenda that allows for the expression of all three needs.

While each of these three hierarchies differs in a significant way from the other two, they incorporate needs that are found in or closely relate to Murray's list of twenty needs. Furthermore, all three hierarchies seem to be particularly appropriate to the study of faculty motivation. The life of an average college professor tends to be quite secure, in terms of basic needs for food, shelter and financial stability. Quite clearly, these needs do not dominate the faculty member's daily life, for the selection of a profession which is not high-paying, given the educational preparation that is required, must be attractive for other reasons. Conversely, given a relatively large increase in faculty salaries during the 1960's and 1970's, some new faculty may have been attracted to the teaching profession in part out of an interest in the pay scale

and benefits being offered. Certainly, the movement toward collective bargaining in higher education will bring issues of security and fiscal reward more clearly to the forefront. Nevertheless, faculty would seem to be operating, in general, at levels above that of security in either Maslow's or Ardrey's hierarchy. Therefore, while financial incentives must be given serious attention in any study of faculty motivation, they must not dominate such a study.

Socially-oriented needs might be dominant in the professional lives of many faculty. In their role as teachers, faculty are working primarily in an interpersonal context. Rather than being in a person-machine or person-document interaction as is the case with many professionals, the faculty member is constantly engaged in a classroom environment which contains, in Murray's terms, many "presses" of a social nature. A variety of social needs can probably be met in a satisfactory way by both faculty and students, e.g. need for recognition, control and affiliation. Consequently, one might expect Schutz's Interpersonal Hierarchy of Needs to be particularly relevant to understanding the motivational base of classroom instruction. In examining the role of faculty as scholars and researchers, one might wish to look more toward the esteem, stimulation and identity needs of Maslow and Ardrey. Self-actualization--to the extent that it can be clearly defined--may be a valuable ingredient to explore in all aspects of the exceptional faculty member's professional life.

Section III: Intrinsic-State Theories

Though trait theories are invaluable in the description of human motivation, they are inadequate as sources of information or hypotheses about the reasons for specific motivated behavior. They lack the explanatory power of a theory which examines either the developmental history (an intrinsic-state theory) or the environmental determinants (an extrinsic-state theory) of the motive. In this section we will discuss several instrinsic state theories, then in the next section examine extrinsic theories.

The ultimate source of most explanatory theories of human motivation resides in the writings of Sigmund Freud.[1] His theories are significant in establishing the irrational nature of much human behavior and the origins of most significant human motivation in the interpersonal/developmental issues of early childhood (parent-child relationships and sibling relationships). Possibly of even greater importance, Freud molded the very way in which most of us (theorists, researchers, practitioners) conceive of human motivation. Freud described a driving force or source of potential energy (libido) that expresses itself (catharsis) through a variety of intellectual mechanisms that are distinctively human in their complexity and flexibility: perception, memory, conceptualization, categorizing, etc. These seemingly rational, cognitive mechanisms are, according to Freud, formed in early childhood in response to the need for strict control over the motivating forces associated with the immediate gratification of primitive needs and impulses. Though Freud is noted for his emphasis on irrational sources of motivation, he in fact devoted most of his attention to a description of these rational, cognitive mechanisms.

Freudian theory obviously should be applied with considerable sensitivity in the analysis of adult human motivation. There are several areas, however, which are clearly relevant for an understanding of faculty motivation. First, Freudian theory directs our attention to the "ghosts" (transference) in most important interpersonal relationships. Undoubtedly, many faculty conceive of their relationship to students in terms of their past relationships with parents and surrogate-parents (mentors, department chairpersons, older faculty, etc.) or their own current role as parents. The

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[1] Several of the clearest analyses of Freud's work and contributions have been written by Monroe (1955) and Brenner (1961). The translations of Freud's work by Strachey and Rivera make the reading of Freud's original works both valuable and enjoyable. In the area of human motivation we specifically recommend the Interpretation of Dreams (1900), Beyond the Pleasure Principle (1920), The Ego and Id (1923), Civilization and Its Discontents (1930) and The Problem of Anxiety (1936), as well as several of his papers, which are found in his collected works: "Repression" (1906), "On Narcissism" (1914) and "Mourning and Melancholia" (1917).

relationship between the faculty member and his peers is undoubtedly also influenced and distorted by these transferences (cf. Sullivan, 1953). These transferences can become particularly powerful in those social systems in which there is an unequal distribution of power (cf. Bion, 1948-1951; as well as other work by members of the Tavistock Group in London, England). Faculty may be attracted to teaching precisely because of the gratification derived from transference relationships. The faculty member, for example, who experienced the tight control of a highly authoritarian father or mother may find considerable gratification in tightly controlling the performance of his/her students in the classroom or even outside the classroom (in loco parentis).

An intensive study of faculty motivation might also reveal the importance of various defensive structures in explaining the drive of many faculty toward construction of a highly ordered and rational world. The very processes that are used to control primitive emotions and drives, i.e. perception, memory, etc., may serve the "secondary" function of meeting intellectual challenges. Ultimately, according to Freudian theory, these "secondary" functions become associated (cathected) with the primary function, thereby acquiring the same "driven" (often compulsive) quality as the initial need-gratifying behavior of the child.

Several of Freud's followers, the so-called "ego psychologists" have continued Freud's exploration of the "ego functions." Several concepts that have been offered by this group are particularly appropriate for an understanding of faculty motivation. We will focus on three concepts: (a) diversity in psychological defenses, (b) "regression in the service of the ego" and (d) "secondary autonomy" of human motives.

The ego psychologists (especially Anna Freud, 1936) are noted for their detailed descriptions of various mechanisms of defense which are used to ward off the anxiety associated with images of immediate need gratification. At one extreme, ego psychologists describe defensive behavior that seems to be deeply imbedded in all

aspects of the person's life. He seems to be dominated by the need for absolute control over himself and his environment. He exhibits behavior that is unchanging, hence highly predictable. His nonverbal (posture, tone of voice, etc.), as well as verbal, behavior conveys a guardedness that prevents this individual from achieving deep and satisfying interpersonal relationships.

Wilhelm Reich (1933) graphically labels this comprehensive defensiveness: "Character armor". The faculty member who exhibits this type of defensiveness is, unfortunately, not rare. He/she functions with a fair amount of effectiveness in a collegiate setting, precisely because it is an environment which is highly ordered, yet tolerates a significant amount of deviance among its faculty (at least those who are tenured). It is only when this faculty member is exposed to personally- or institutionally-based pressures for change and increased flexibility that the strength and de-energizing qualities of this character armour become fully apparent. Certainly this is one dimension of faculty motivation that needs to be explored more fully, especially in the context of a faculty development program.

More typical in the ego psychologists' repertoire of defensive mechanisms are those that are situationally-based and that tend to be rather fluid. One defense rather easily replaces another as the environment changes or as the type and quantity of stress to which the individual is exposed changes. Among the defenses of this variety that have most frequently identified and described are <u>regression</u> (adopting more primitive modes of thought, action or memory), <u>repression</u> (dismissal of disturbing memories or impulses toward action from consciousness), <u>reaction-formation</u> (the power of the repressed impulse is seen in an exaggeration of the opposite tendency), <u>isolation</u> (a disturbing impulse, thought or action is allowed access to consciousness, but without its associated emotionality), <u>undoing</u> (a specific act is done compulsively to nullify or abrogate a previous act), <u>projection</u> (unacceptable impulses, thoughts or actions are attributed to another person), <u>denial</u> (failure to recognize or

admit to the occurrence of a specific action), displacement (threatening impulses are refocused toward other parts of the body or toward other people that are less threatening) and rationalization (reinterpretation of actions to make them more compatible with self-image).

Numerous other defenses have also been identified by this group. Suffice it to say at this point that a rather extensive list has been enumerated to illustrate the wide variety of complex thoughts and behaviors that can be associated with defensive reactions to anxiety-producing impulses, thoughts or actions. The faculty member who is interested in (even absorbed in) teaching, in part may be using the occupation as an effective vehicle for the support and expression of one or more of these defensive mechanisms. The wide variety of teaching styles exhibited in the college classroom may reflect the wide variety of defenses that are available. The instructor, for example, who is constantly concerned with the performance of students, yet is not himself an active scholar, may be exhibiting projection. Conversely, the highly successful social scientist who demands objective and dispassionate analysis in the classroom may be meeting personal needs for isolation, displacement and/or rationalization. Unfortunately, while this latter type of defensive professor may be effective in working with some students (especially those who make use of similar defenses), he/she will rarely exhibit sufficient flexibility to be effective in working with a diversity of students. Furthermore, defensive behavior, over a long period of time, tends to be highly de-energizing, hence disruptive to professional performance.

Defensive behavior in the classroom also has implications for faculty development programs. Typically, the faculty development practitioner finds these faculty to be very resistant to any re-examination, by themselves or others, of their approach to teaching. The energy which is invested in this protective reaction is often of profound proportions, leading one to recognize the heavy, personal investment in the preservation of existing defenses. The faculty development practioner is often confronted with the

dilemma of either pushing harder with this type of faculty--thereby possibly opening up areas in which therapeutic treatment will be necessary--or letting the faculty member alone. Those faculty development programs which have been given the mission of "improving" or "motivating" inadequate faculty members will inevitably confront this issue and will have to actively explore the relationship between defense mechanisms and instruction.

In their focus on defenses, the ego psychologists have described the ways in which cognitive processes can be destructive when driven by anxiety. These same mechanisms, however, can be used for highly productive and creative purposes. Several researchers from the ego psychological school, for instance, have focused on these mechanisms in studying different "cognitive styles" (cf. Witkin, et.al., 1960) that yield a rich variation in the way people perceive and operate in their physical and social environment.

In the area of creative behavior, Ernst Kris (1934) has defined a useful concept concerning the productive use of cognitive mechanisms: "regression in the service of the go." In studies of creativity Kris has found that highly original works and highly abstract theories often are derived from or evaluated on the basis of primitive perceptual processes (cf. Ghiselin, 1952). Some scientific and mathematical models of profound importance (e.g. Einstein's Theory of Relativity), for instance, were reportedly constructed on the basis of visual symmetry, sounds or even tastes. Some of the most dramatic and effective teachers may derive indirect (or even direct) gratification from "regressive" behavior in the classroom: e.g. they may become "showmen," thereby meeting childhood dreams of performance on the stage, or they may "play" with words, concepts, images or even the interaction between themselves and their students. Some of the most innovative modes of collegiate instruction (simulations, role playing, fantasy) require that faculty find gratification in many of the same behaviors that they frequently exhibited and enjoyed as children.

The ego psychologists' concern for the constructive use of processes that also produce and support defensive behavior arises from a third major theoretical contribution that this group has made: they have distinguished between motives or drives that are still closely linked with the needs and problems of childhood ("primary autonomy") and those which were initially derived from childhood needs and problems, but now function independently of these needs and problems ("secondary autonomy") (Hartmann, 1939).[2] Certain forms of competitive behavior, for instance, may have been performed in childhood for adult or peer approval, as well as to help the child learn how to deal effectively with complex social settings. In adulthood, the same competitive behavior can be engaged, via games, role-playing and simulations, for other purposes, including stimulation, camaraderie and further social learning.

In examining the motives of faculty it is essential to keep this distinction in mind, for while the origins of a motive may reside in childhood, it may be operating essentially independent of this source at the present time. The side benefits of certain behaviors from childhood may have become the dominant motivating force in adulthood. The faculty member who originally decided to enter teaching, when an undergraduate, for instance, may have done so in order to model, and thereby gain approval from, a faculty member who reminds him of his father. The other motives associated with college teaching (social status, autonomy, intellectual stimulation, assistance in the achievement of young people, etc.) may have been of little importance at this time. As the undergraduate student, turned graduate student and faculty member, matures in his/her professional role, these other motives may become increasingly important, to the point that the faculty member is operating essentially autonomously of his original transference-based motive.

The concept of secondary autonomy leads directly to the fourth, and probably most important, contribution of the ego psychologists,

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[2] Sigmund Freud originally used the term "sublimation" to describe a similar process, though he never completely accepted the notion of an "autonomous" drive. Gordon Allport (1961) has presented a very similar concept: "functional autonomy."

namely, an emphasis on the stages of development in not only childhood, but also adulthood. Beginning with the work of Erik Erikson (1950, 1959) and Robert White (1959, 1963), continuing through the work of Jane Loevinger (1966, 1969) and Daniel Levinson (Levinson, et al., 1974), several important descriptive models have been produced concerning the stages through which adults pass in confronting various developmental tasks of an interpersonal and/or cognitive nature.

Erikson's (1950) eight stages of development are certainly among the best known, having been persuasively presented by Erikson with the use of examples from anthropology, literature, psychobiography and psychoanalysis. The first four steps bear close resemblance to the Freudian psychosexual stages of development (oral, anal, phallic and latency), though they have been reconceived as interpersonal-oriented developmental tasks: (1) trust, (2) autonomy, (3) initiative and (4) industry. If these preliminary developmental tasks are not successfully achieved, then the child is left in a state of mistrust (rather than trust), doubt (rather than autonomy), guilt (rather than initiative) or inferiority (rather than industry), depending on the stage(s) where barriers to development are experienced. If the child is blocked at one of these four childhood stages, then the primary concerns associated with this stage will continue to dominate his/her adolescent and adult life. In Hartmann's terms, he will not have achieved secondary autonomy of his dominant motives. Frequently, in the collegiate environment, we can observe faculty who feel and express pervasive mistrust, doubt, guilt and/or inferiority. Furthermore, in many instances the collegiate environment tends to support and add substance to these feelings. Such a faculty member tends to consume large amounts of time and energy in confirming these feelings, while often simultaneously trying to overcome them.

The four adult stages of development identified by Erikson are: (5) identity, (6) intimacy, (7) generativity and (8) ego integrity. The first of these stages, identity, is highlighted by Erikson's concept of the "identity crisis"--a label which has been accepted in our popular culture to describe the stresses

associated with the early years of adulthood. At the identity stage, according to Erikson (1950, p. 228), emerging adults are: "primarily concerned with what they appear to be in the eyes of others compared with what they feel they are, and with the question of how to connect the roles and skills cultivated earlier with the occupational prototypes of the day." At this stage, Erikson finds that young adults often "overidentify" with the heroes of their reference group or with a peer of the opposite sex, as a means of dealing with the anxiety associated with this transitional period. If the developmental task of defining an appropriate identity is not successfully accomplished then role diffusion will result, with an accompanying feeling of anxiety, alienation or purposelessness.

The sixth stage, intimacy, focuses on the establishment of significant relationships independent of parents and other protective social institutions. Should the adult fail to achieve intimacy, Erikson believes that he/she will become isolated and will achieve only superficial relationships with other people. He/she will be unwilling to become involved in interpersonal situations which offer little self-protection--such as sexual union and close friendship.

At the heart of the developmental task of most well-functioning adults, according to Erikson, is the "nuclear" conflict between generativity and stagnation. At this point, the adult should become interested in "establishing and guiding the next generation." (Erikson, 1950, p. 231) Where this guidance is not effective, the adult may retreat into a stance of hostile indifference to the younger generation, thereby becoming personally stagnant and interpersonally impoverished.

The final stage of development concerns the long-term act of drawing one's life together and finding meaning in it. In Erikson's (1950, pp. 231-32) own words:

> Only he who in some way has taken care of things and people and has adapted himself to the triumphs and

> disappointments adherent to being, by necessity, the originator of others and the generator of things and ideas--only he may gradually grow the fruit of (the first seven) stages. . . .Although aware of the relativity of all the various life styles which have given meaning to human striving, the possessor of integrity is ready to defend the dignity of his own life style against all physical and economic threats. ...for him all human integrity stands or falls with the one style of integrity of which he partakes...Before this final solution, death loses its string.
>
> The lack of loss of this accrued ego integrity is signified by fear of death...Despair expresses the feeling that the time is short, too short for the attempt to start another life and to try out alternative roads to integrity. Disgust hides despair.

The stages of development which have been proposed by Erikson are comparable in several interesting ways to not only the Freudian stages of psychosexual development, but also the trait theories of human motivation which were discussed in the previous section. This is not surprising, given that Henry Murray was an influential colleague of Erikson at Harvard University. In particular, the developmental tasks of Erikson seem to be related to the Maslow hierarchy: social needs seem to incorporate issues of intimacy, just as the need for esteem seems to be closely related to the concerns of adults for generativity. Similarly, ego-integrity may be closely linked to Maslow's concept of self-actualization. Erikson's "identity crisis" seems to be integral to the security needs identified by Maslow, and, of course, is directly relevant to the highest level of Ardrey's hierarchy. Curiously, in many ways Erikson's identity stage closely resembles his stage of ego-integrity, just as his intimacy and generativity stages seem closely interrelated. The intra-personal needs associated with identity and integrity, as well as self-actualization, seem to be dominant at both the beginning and end of one's adult life, whereas the interpersonal needs associated with intimacy and generativity, as well as stimulation and esteem, seem to dominate the middle stages of adult development.

A related model of adult development has been offered by Jane Loevinger, who attempts to integrate both the interpersonal and

cognitive dimensions of "ego development." The childhood stages are identified by Loevinger as (1) pre-social or normal-autistic, (2) impulsive and (3) self-protective. The fourth stage, identified by Loevinger as "conformist," usually typifies the person in late childhood or adolescence, though Loevinger believes that many adults never leave this stage. She suggests that young adults tend to leave this stage as they first come to recognize that they do not always conform to the norms or stereotypes of their culture. At the fifth stage, Loevinger speaks of a conscientious concern for the growing awareness of the complexity in the internal and external worlds that the young adult inhabits. A perception of individual differences among people takes the place of broad stereotypes.

Loevinger believes that very few adults proceed beyond the conscientious stage to the stage which she labels "autonomy." The adult at this stage is autonomous in at least two important respects. First, he/she is free from either a dominant concern for recognition by others (conformity) or for achievement of his/her own standards (conscientiousness). Secondly, since he/she fully appreciates his/her own need for autonomy, he/she respects the need of other people for autonomy (including his/her own children). At this stage of development, happiness and serenity are not guaranteed, problems of lower ego stages do not disappear, but instead are seen from a different perspective. Loevinger identifies a theoretically higher stage which she labels "integrated," but does not offer an extensive description of this stage as does Erikson.

Much like Erikson, Loevinger has identified several higher-order stages that seem to be critical to a sense of personal identity and integrity. Unlike Erikson, Loevinger seems to emphasize the increasing conceptual complexity that confronts the maturing adult (cf. Harvey, Hunt and Schroder, 1961), as well as the dimensions of morality (cf. Kohlberg, 1964) and character development (cf. Peck and Havighurst, 1960). She seems, on the other hand, to be less concerned than is Erikson with issues of interpersonal growth (intimacy and generativity).

A third model of adult development seems to touch on many of the same dimensions as Erikson and Loevinger, but focuses on occupational aspects of this development, specifically in males. Daniel Levinson and his associates at Yale (Levinson, et al., 1974, p. 244) have attempted to identify "relatively universal genotypic, age-linked, adult development periods." This research team has based their conclusions on extensive interviews and Thematic Apperception Test interpretations with adult males in the 20-45 year age range.

The first stage identified by Levinson is labeled "leaving the family." This stage is a transition between adolescence, which centers on the family of origin, and entry into the adult world. A series of developmental tasks face the young adult (Levinson, et al., pg. 245): "moving out of the family home, becoming financially less dependent, and getting into new role and living arrangements in which one is more autonomous and responsible." This stage ends when the young adult has for the most part separated from the family.

The second stage, "getting into the adult world" is a period in which the young adult explores and tentatively commits himself to various adult roles, memberships, responsibilities and relationships. The primary development task of this period, according to Levinson (1974, p. 247) is "to explore the available possibilities of the adult world, to arrive at an initial definition of oneself as an adult and to fashion an initial life structure that provides a viable link between the valued self and the wider adult world."

Levinson identifies several different sequences by which a young adult enters this stage. The most frequent pattern is to make a provisional commitment to an occupation during his 20's, then begin to build an identity around this occupation. Sometime around age 30 he makes a long-term commitment to the occupation and begins to "settle down" (the next stage). Alternatively, the initial occupational commitment may be overturned, the young adult making a major occupational change at age 30. Another common pattern finds the man

in his 20's leading a transient life. He is confronted in the early 30's with either finding order and stability in his life, or embracing a long-term life style of instability.

One other particularly intriguing theme is offered by Levinson in discussing this second stage. Many young men, according to Levinson (1974, p. 245) "enter adulthood with a dream or vision of their own future. This dream is usually articulated within an occupational context....Major shifts in life direction at subsequent ages are often occasioned by a sense of betrayal or compromise of the dream."

"Settling down" describes the primary developmental task of the adult male as he enters the early 30's. He becomes deeply committed to work, family and other valued interests, and begins to make long-term plans, based on these solidified interests. Several images are dominant during this period, according to Levinson (1974, p. 249): the young male in his 30's will "establish his niche in society," he "digs in" and "builds a nest," he is concerned with "making it" (earning $50,000 by 40 or securing tenure by 38). Levinson also typifies this period in terms of a disillusionment process. An adult during this period will find certain forms of freedom to be a personal or societal illusion.

The middle to late 30's primarily involves the process of "becoming one's own man." The middle-age male, recognizing his lack of freedom, seeks to become more independent. He may disengage from a cherished mentor, from his wife and family, from traditional societal constraints. He will tend to be oriented toward specific events (e.g., a promotion or publication of a book) that will in some sense affirm the worth of those things he values most about himself and his work. In waiting for this "magical" event to occur, the adult male, according to Levinson, may remain in a state of "suspended animation."

At this point, Levinson (1974, pp. 253-4) believes that a

critical mid-life transition occurs, whether or not he feels affirmed by society:

> The central issue is not whether he succeeds or fails in achieving his goals. The issue, rather, is what to do with the experience of disparity between what he has gained in an inner sense from living within a particular structure and what he wants for himself.

It is at this transitional point that the adult male may experience the bittersweet nature of success. In attempting to live out the fantasies and dreams associated with settling down, he has necessarily rejected or ignored other essential aspects of the self. Furthermore, at this stage of life, the adult male will experience bodily decline, and an accompanying sense of the aging process as well as his own mortality.

The mid-life transition, for most men, peaks in the early 40's. A period of restablization occurs in the middle 40's, during which most adult males either experience new models of productivity or significant decline in vitality and productivity. It is at this point that Levinson and his associates leave us--waiting for their upcoming analysis of the later stages of adult male development.

In distilling these three similar, though distinctive, models of adult development, and relating them to the issue of faculty motivation, we wish to emphasize four themes (see Table Two for a summary of the three models, which have been placed together, for comparative purposes, on a single time line). First, all three models emphasize the notion that an adult (in this instance a faculty member) must adequately meet the challenge of certain developmental tasks during each stage of his/her adult life. If this developmental task is not achieved, then there is typically a sense of stagnation and/or a sense of alienation from self and others. One must take these highly-motivated tasks into account when examining the intrinsic motives of faculty. The relationship of the young faculty member to his/her students, for instance, can be viewed from the perspective of Erikson's stage of intimacy: "How close can I get to my students?" "What type of interpersonal

gratifications are possible and appropriate in my relationship to students?" Following is representative list of critical developmental questions that one might expect faculty to confront, as teachers, at various stages of their life:

1. Faculty in their mid to late 20's:

   a. For what do I want to be known as a teacher and scholar? By my peers? By my students?

   b. What have I uncritically accepted about the teaching-learning process from my mentor(s)? What do I want to retain? What do I want to leave behind? What is distinctive and valuable about me as a teacher?

   c. In what ways do I want to diverge from the normal practices of my discipline? Of my colleagues at this institution? At what cost? In what ways?

   d. In what ways are significant others (older peers, chairperson, mentor) serving a parental role for me? What parts of this role should be preserved? To what extent am I distorting my relationships with these significant others, in response to their parenting?

2. Faculty in their early to mid 30's:

   a. How do I fit together my personal and professional lives? Which is more important? Under what circumstances do priorities shift?

   b. What are my own personal standards of quality in performance? To what extent must I meet these standards? Must my students meet these standards?

   c. Which aspects of my discipline are most valuable? Least valuable? How do I convey the most valuable to my students?

   d. What type of role do I wish to play in my department? In my institution? In my discipline? How can I be most influential? Most acceptable? What do I want to achieve in each setting?

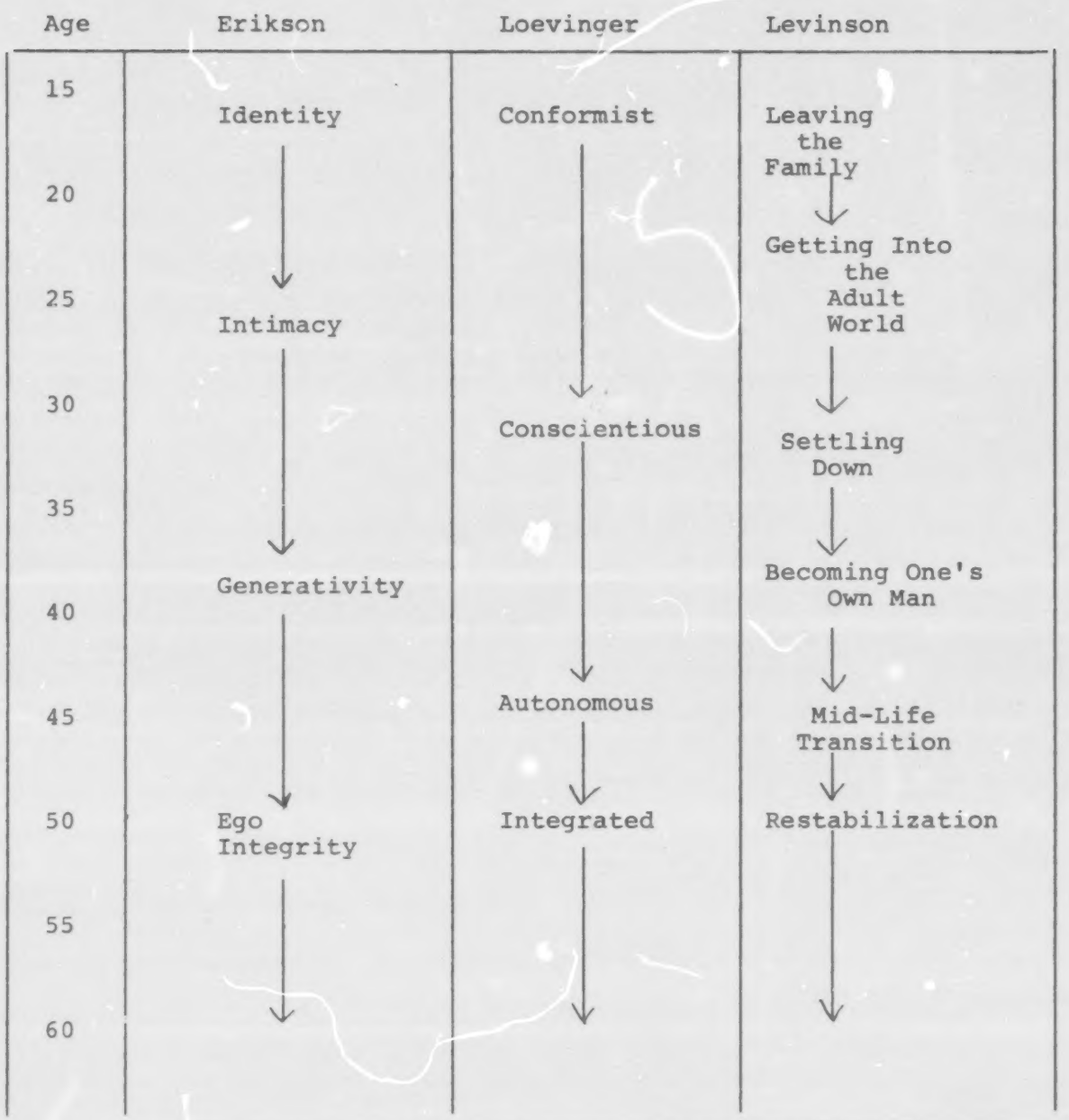
3. Faculty in their late 30's to early 40's:

   a. Am I really having an impact on my students through my teaching? Is my discipline benefiting from my teaching? Is my institution benefiting? Is my community benefiting? Are my students benefiting?

TABLE TWO

STAGES OF ADULT DEVELOPMENT

Description of Stages



b. What is the important and enduring knowledge that I wish to impart to my students? How can I best convey this knowledge? Which knowledge is relative? Which is absolute?

c. How will I know if I have been successful in my profession? Is this my own notion of success, or have I borrowed it from others? How will I achieve this success? Is a successful career no longer accessible to me?

d. Am I spending enough time with my faculty? do they need me as much as my students do? Do they need me more?

4. Faculty in their mid 40's and beyond:

a. What are the important things I have yet to accomplish as a college teacher? Can I accomplish them? How do I accomplish them?

b. What have I as a faculty member done to improve the quality of life (or society)? Is such a goal important? Realistic? How does my professional life, to date, reflect this goal? How should it reflect this goal?

c. How do all of the roles I play as a college teacher and as a person make sense in defining who I am?

d. How can I remain active and productive as I grow older? What can I no longer do as a college teacher? What can I now do for the first time as a college teacher? What can I continue to do as a college teacher?

These questions--or other questions of a similar nature--should be salient to faculty at a specific period of life, if Levinson has accurately linked developmental stages to specific age levels. At least some of the vitality in the faculty member's professional life as a teacher should emerge from a search for answers to these questions. On the other hand, the defensive behavior we discussed above may emerge from often vague recognition by the faculty member that some of these questions cannot be answered at the present time, or that the answers to these questions reveal personal inadequacies as a teacher, scholar or person.

Common to all three developmental theorists is yet another perspective: Erikson, Loevinger and Levinson all seem to emphasize competence as a motivating force. They speak of several different types of competencies that relate to the personal dimension of the adult's life (e.g., sexual union and formation of close friendships), but tend to focus primarily on job-related competencies. All three theorists seem to at least implicitly agree with Robert White (1959, 1963), who believes that competence is in and of itself a motivating and reinforcing property of human life.

White argues that beginning with the grasping and searching behavior of the infant, and the all-consuming play of the young child, humans are seeking to achieve confirmation for competence. In terms of Hartmann's theory of autonomy, White seems to be arguing for competence as a motive with primary autonomy--it is not directly related to the satisfaction of any basic physiological drive, nor is it a derivative (secondary autonomy) of such a drive. We seem to have come full circle: the Maslovian pyramid of needs is turned on its head. Self-actualization as a process of achieving competence for its own sake rather than some external reward (esteem, financial security, etc.), becomes not the prerogative or luxury of the mature adult, but instead a dominant motivating force to be found throughout human life. As we turn in the next section of this paper to the extrinsic sources of motivation for faculty, it is important to keep this concept of competence in mind, for we may discover in studying the motives of faculty that some (if not many) faculty will engage in demanding work that has no extrinsic or intrinsic source of gratification other than the pleasure experienced by the faculty member in having mastered a specific competency, as demonstrated by successful completion of a specific professional task.

Before moving on to a consideration of the third, and final, set of motivational theories, we need to identify one other theme to be found in the works of Erikson, Loevinger and Levinson. They all seem to concentrate on the developmental stages of the

adult male. Levinson explicitly acknowledges this limitation. Erikson and Loevinger seem to have also excluded the female adult from these analyses, at least to the extent that several significant developmental issues related to both traditional and emerging roles of women in our society have not been addressed: e.g., problems associated with establishing and breaking ties with either male or female models/mentors. As the motives of faculty are being explored, it is essential that the distinctive motives of female faculty be identified, as well as those motives that are common to both women and men.

Section IV: Extrinsic-State Theories

As Henry Murray demonstrated in his original emphasis on both personal needs and environmental presses, the motivational equation is only half complete if consideration is not given to those motivating factors to be found in the faculty member's interaction with his physical and social environments. We must examine motives associated with his/her relationships with significant others (family, peers, supervisors, subordinates) and with department and/or divisional personnel. Consideration must also be given to the structure, process and climate of the collegiate institution in which he/she works, as well as other local, regional and national groups and communities of which he/she is a member.

We will examine extrinsic sources of motivation from three different theoretical perspectives: (a) personal factors that influence the ways in which one's environment is perceived and acted upon, (b) organizational factors that influence the way in which one performs his/her work in an institutional setting and (c) systemic factors that influence the way in which power and information is distributed in an institution, and thereby the way in which one perceives and is rewarded for his/her work.

Personal Factors:

Some of the earliest and most influential work regarding the

motivating interaction between an individual and his/her environment focused on the way in which a specific environment is interpreted by different people. Three theorists, in particular, stand out as articulate spokesmen for this interactional perspective: (a) Kurt Lewin (1948), (b) Fritz Heider (1958) and (c) Egon Brunswik (1956).

Lewin was primarily concerned with an examination of ways in which various environmental properties dynamically interact as they become transformed into psychic forces--forces that have positive or negative values, depending on the goals and needs of the person who is interacting with the environment. Relative to the issue of faculty motivation, Lewin cautions us against too great a reliance on an examination of the physical properties of an environment. The "psychic" reality (one's "life space") is much more fluid and malleable than is the "phenomenal" reality. In identifying or changing the motives of faculty, it is essential that one attend to the ways in which rewards or other extrinsic motives are interpreted, transformed and integrated with other internalized environmental forces. Lewin has observed, for instance, that many positively-valued goals lose their attractiveness as one approaches their attainment; furthermore, we are more likely to remember tasks that we have not yet completed, than those that we have completed (Zeigarnik Effect). These two factors speak to two important, and seemingly paradoxial, features about human motivation: we are often disillusioned with success and obsessed with failure.

We can use Lewinian theory to arrive at another important conclusion about human motivation. One's understanding of human motivation should derive from an examination of critical choice points, rather than from an examination of normal, daily operations. Typically, people operate with a fairly clear and consistent set of goals. Work is engaged in to meet certain objectives that are relatively constant and obvious. It is only at a point where significant decisions have to be made between several positively valued

goals (or the avoidance of several negatively valued consequences) that the vital dynamics of one's motivational field becomes apparent. At these choice points, for instance, one will often turn to others for help. Why have these other people been selected? At choice points, one often attempts to transform the value of one or more goals (cf. our discussion on cognitive balance, below). How and why does this transformation take place? In regard to research on faculty motivation, especially in the college classroom, faculty should be studied either at the point when they are making important career or personal decisions, which is difficult to time and perhaps disruptive to observe, or in a somewhat artificial setting where they are being asked to examine and speculate about their decision-making processes at critical choice points.

Fritz Heider (1958), a colleague of Lewin, provides a similar interactional model of human motivation. Heider emphasizes the motivating properties of cognitive "balance" in one's perception of relationships with other people and objects. If, for example, one person (X) values another person (Y) and Y in turn values something (e.g., a book or another person) (Z) then if X also values Z, the configuration is in balance. If X does not value Z, then an imbalance is perceived. This imbalance is, in turn, motivating, for X will take action to change this configuration: X will either change his/her appraisal of Z or his/her appraisal of Y. Conversely, if X has a negative attitude toward both Y and Z, then Y's attitude toward Z should be positive. If it is not, then some change in attitude is likely to occur. X will increasingly value either Y or Z.

With reference to faculty motivation, cognitive balance is probably even more important and motivating than it is for most other people--for faculty tend to value rationality and consistency. Much as White has argued for the inherent motivating properties of a sense of competence, Heider, as well as the "cognitive dissonance" theorists (cf. Festinger, 1957; Zimbardo, 1969), have proposed that cognitive consistency is a desired state and that cognitive inconsistency (imbalance, dissonance or incongruity) is a state

which motivates people to change in attitudes, perceptions or actions (cf. Brown, 1965, Chapter 11).

Whereas Heider is primarily interested in the effects of cognitive consistency on interpersonal perception and relationships, Festinger and his colleagues are concerned with the motivating properties of consistency as they influence human decision-making processes, and one's perceptions and actions upon completion of this process. Festinger proposes that after a decision has been made, one will seek out evidence to confirm the worth of that decision, while avoiding contrary evidence. The decision-maker wil be especially motivated to find confirmation for a decision, if his/her choice was marginal (other choices being equally satisfying) and if the choice requires or is associated with a major expenditure of time, money, self-esteem, etc.

The third interactional model, proposed by Brunswik, is probably least well known of the three, but is potentially of greatest value in examining faculty motivation. Brunswik believes that the environment in which one operates provides a "causal texture" for one's behavior (Postman and Tolman, 1959, p. 508). One's behavior is made possible and supported by this causal texture. Some aspects of the causal texture are relatively distant (distal), having only indirect effects on the individual. Other effects are close (proximal)--their effects can be directly ascertained. A third set of effects are central, being internal to the organism. The central effects cannot be directly observed, but must be inferred from behavior.

To build on Brunswik's initial model, we can describe elements of the environment as to their central, proximal or distal effects on a person; similarly, we can classify the effects of a person on his/her environment with reference to their central, proximal or distal impact. To simply state that a person and his/her environment are in interaction is not enough. The effects of an indirect and delayed impact (distal) of a person on his/her environment (or vice versa) are quite different from the effects

of a direct and immediate impact (proximal). Jay Forrester, the creator of system dynamics, a powerful, computer-based analytic tool (cf. Forrester, 1971), has noted that delay factors in a complex system can be profoundly important. Many of the psychological theories of human behavior that rely heavily on the concept of feedback (cybernetics) (e.g., Miller, Galanter and Pribram, 1969) fail to take the delay factor into account.

A second important principle to be derived from Brunswik's writings is his concept of "probabilistic functionalism." Brunswik believes that a primary goal of any person is the achievement of accurate perceptions and understanding of distal events. Whereas classical behaviorism focuses on the events which have direct and immediate (proximal) impact on an organism, Brunswik believes that effective adaptation to the environment requires an understanding or anticipation of a much broader (distal) temporal and spatial environment. It is not possible, with any degree of certainty, however, to infer the nature of distal features in the environment, given only the specific pattern of proximal features that are immediately available to us. There is an uncertainty gap associated with the prediction of proximal effects from distal causes or the inference of distal causes from proximal effects. This gap can never be closed except by ignoring distal effects. To the extent that there appears to be any significant convergence between the proximal and distal, Brunswik states that the proximal cue in question has "ecological validity."

Since we cannot know about distal causes with any certainty, we can only derive probabilistic statements about the existence and nature of these causes, hence must always view distal causes and proximal effects in a relativistic manner. We gather up a variety of proximal cues, from many different sources, in order to increase our certainty in the act of understanding distal causes. Probabilistic functionalism refers to this act of gathering and compiling relative information from immediate (proximal) sources that are in some sense ecologically valid with reference to a distal environment--an environment which has an indirect, yet

significant, impact on us.

Taken out of this highly theoretical context, and placed in the context of faculty motivation, Brunswik's model has several important implications. First, Brunswik provides a useful framework for understanding the relativistic dilemma which each of us, and particularly faculty members, must face in order to interact with our environments. On the one hand, foresight and expanded perceptions of the causal texture in our environment are valued and useful attributes of the successful participant in our society (these attributes seem to be at the heart of the mission of liberal arts education). On the other hand, a distal perspective is, by definition and by nature, remote and seemingly irrelevant. The foresighted of our society are called "dreamers," those with expanded perspectives are known as "dilettantes." The college professor who insists upon considering that which is distant and only indirectly relevant, will soon lose the interests of his/her students. That which is distal must somehow be integrated with that which is proximal. This can be done by making distal events proximal. Some faculty become so involved in the remote past that it becomes part of their immediate reality. These faculty have chosen to retreat into their primary area of study so that it might become more proximal. Unfortunately, this type of professor is likely to become absorbed in his subject matter at the expense of his/her students.

Alternatively, the college professor can chose to keep the subject matter remote, but try to constantly examine the proximal ("relevant") implications of the material for both himself/herself and his/her students. Unfortunately, the norms of many of our collegiate institutions often do not sustain this emphasis on relevance, hence we more frequently observe the "distal" professor for whom the content of his/her discipline acquires its own motivating properties.

A second dilemma also faces the college professor. It concerns the relativity associated with the study of distal events.

Probabilistic functionalism might be considered the modus operandi for most areas of academic study. The college professor uses that information which is immediately available to attempt the formulation of more complete understanding of that which is remote in time and space. To operate in this relativistic and probabilistic mode, as a teacher or scholar, one must be "tolerant of ambiguity," "open to experience" and willing to abandon temporarily-held conceptual schemes (flexibility). The faculty member who is primarily motivated by order and certainty may be intolerant of this relativistic perspective concerning his/her discipline or area of specialization. He/she will bend to find gratification in the classroom by presenting and testing for information that is defined as truth, rather than as a probable or possible statement. Any challenge to this truth, or to the means by which this truth is derived, is usually viewed by this type of faculty member as offensive and inappropriate. Typically, this faculty member will demonstrate loyalty to his/her discipline (the source of truth) and to the traditional role of an instructor as authority (the preserver of truth).

Several of Brunswik's colleagues at the University of California conducted a study of the authoritarian personality, which focused on this absolutistic model of conceptualization. (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson and Sanford, 1950). Though this work is itself quite complex and has generated a large amount of additional research and controversy (cf. Christie and Jahoda, 1954), we will reflect on only three general implications from the work. First, the study of authoritarianism identifies yet another potential source of cognitively-based motivation. The preservation of distinct categories (racial, ethnic, doctrinal, ideological) may be inherently gratifying for some people. Even more likely, however, the authoritarian perspective has gained "secondary autonomy," initially being based in the child-rearing practices, general cultural milieu in which a child is reared, and various precipitating stresses in the primary family (e.g., economic instability).

In expanding on the work of Adorno and his associates, Rokeach (1960) examined dogmatism and rigidity as they occur at all points on an ideological spectrum--especially at the far right and left. Rokeach found as much dogmatism concerning certain belief systems among "liberals" as he did among "conservatives." Thus, in the study of faculty motivation, it is essential that the stereotypes of "innovative" faculty about traditional teaching-learning principles be carefully examined, and that the motivating properties that are imbedded in and expressed through these stereotypes be studied.

A third major insight can be derived from the study of authoritarianism. In examining the extrinsic sources of human motivation, it is essential that one look at all levels of interaction between a person and his environment. The research design and analysis that was completed in the study of authoritarianism embraced both the personal and interpersonal dimensions of human motivation. It also confronted complex social and political issues of the day. Studies of faculty motivation should emulate this approach to social research.

Organizational Factors:

Within the past two decades, the leaders of business and industrial firms have increasingly recognized the major role that is played by human (interpersonal and organizational) factors in determining the level of employee motivation. Rensis Likert (1967, p. 1), one of the original and most successful advocates of this position, states it quite simply:

> All the activities of any enterprise are initiated and determined by the persons who make up that institution. Every aspect of a firm's activities is determined by the competence, motivation and general effectiveness of its human organization. Of all the tasks of management, managing the human component is the central and most important task, because all else depends upon how well it is done.

Along the same line, Douglas McGregor (1960) believes that each manager holds an implicit theory about how and why humans behave in an organizational setting. McGregor believes that this theory manifests itself in the manager s relationships with his/her subordinates (and supervisors) such that the theory becomes self-confirming. McGregor labels the most pervasive and traditional theory of motivation: "theory X." According to this theory:

1. The average human being has an inherent dislike of work and will avoid it if he can.

2. Because of this human dislike of work, most people must be coerced, controlled, directed, threatened with punishment to get them to put forth adequate effort toward the achievement of organizational objectives.

3. The average human being prefers to be directed, wishes to avoid responsibility, has relatively little ambition, wants security above all.

McGregor believes that most theories of managers (e.g., those that emphasize the manipulation of rewards) implicitly embrace these assumptions. In opposition to this theory, McGregor (1960, pp. 36-37) describes the Maslovian need hierarchy and notes that:

> a satisfied need is not a motivator of behavior. ...when man's physiological needs are satisfied and he is no longer fearful about his physical welfare, his social needs become important motivators of his behavior. These are such needs as those for belonging, for association, for acceptance by one's fellows, for giving and receiving friendship and love.

McGregor observes that social needs are recognized by the typical manager, but are viewed as a threat to the organization. McGregor proposes that higher order needs esteem, reputation) are equally as important--and rarely satisfied. Because Theory X ignores these higher order motives, it explains the consequence of a particular managerial strategy, but neither explains nor describes human nature. (McGregor, 1960, p. 42)

As an alternative to Theory X, McGregor offers Theory Y which embodies the following basic assumptions:

1. The expenditure of physical and mental effort in work is as natural as play or rest.

2. External control and the threat of punishment are not the only means for bringing about effort toward organizational objectives. Man will exercise self-direction and self-control in the service of objectives to which he is committed.

3. Commitment to objectives is a function of the rewards associated with their achievement.

4. The average human being learns, under proper conditions, not only to accept but to seek responsibility.

5. The capacity to exercise a relatively high degree of imagination, ingenuity, and creativity in the solution of organizational problems is widely, not narrowly, distributed in the population.

6. Under the conditions of modern industrial life, the intellectual potentialities of the average human being are only partially utilized.

McGregor (1960, p. 49) emphasized in Theory Y the integration of personal and organizational goals: "the creation of conditions such that the members of the organization can achieve their own goals best by directing their efforts toward the success of the enterprise."

A similar model, with somewhat different emphases, is proposed by Blake and Mouton (1964) in their theory of "grid management." They advocate the integration of concerns about successful completion of the tasks of an organization ("concern for production") with concerns about the process by which this task is being performed ("concern for people"). Blake and Mouton propose that the common assumption among managers is that task and process concerns are antithetical, whereas in fact (in the tradition of Theory Y) a group which is working effectively together and enjoys working together will also more successfully accomplish its task.

Several managerial orientations have been identified by Blake and Mouton in terms of the interaction between concern, or lack of concern for task (production) and process (people). On the one hand, we find the self-sufficient manager who is primarily

concerned with production. He/she believes that it is wasted time and energy to be concerned for his employee's thoughts and feelings. He does not believe that the quantity or quality of the task is affected by the employee's thoughts or feelings. He/she views the primary function of the manager to be one of giving orders and ensuring that these orders are carried out. Consequently, he/she is often consumed in the task of acquiring power and thereby ensuring compliance. Power is obtained through formal authority, acquisition of expertise or status, and selection of compliant subordinates.

The "good neighbor" manager, conversely, is primarily concerned with people and process, often at the expense of task and production. He/she feels that the task is incidental to good morale within his/her work group. The "country club" atmosphere which often pervades the working environment in which this type of manager operates, is, ironically, just as devoid of trust as the environment of the self-sufficient manager. In one case, the manager does not trust the personal or collective task competence of his/her employees; in the other case ("good neighbor") he/she does not trust their interpersonal competence--specifically, their abilities to handle disagreement and conflict.

Several balanced orientations are identified by Blake and Mouton. The default manager is actively concerned with neither production nor people. He/she tends to believe that the task is impossible to complete because people are lazy and indifferent (a self-sufficient manager without power) or because they are too ambitious and aggressive (a good neighbor without his/her "club"). The traditional manager believes that simultaneous concern for both task and process is impossible. He/she believes that the task comes first, but that if people are pushed too hard they will become ineffective. He/she therefore tends to swing between self-sufficient and good neighbor modes of management. The participative manager--Blake and Mouton's ideal--is concerned with both task and process, believing that effective process will increase productivity.

In terms of motivation theory, the Blake and Mouton model reflects on the needs of both managers and employees. Referring to Schutz's theory of interpersonal motivation, the good neighbor manager seems to be primarily concerned with issues of inclusion and associated social needs, such as affiliation, acceptance and avoidance of social embarrassment. Conversely, the self-sufficient manager seems to be primarily concerned with control needs and associated esteem needs such as achievement, autonomy and recognition.

The work environment that these two types of managers tend to create are also responsive to fulfillment of these needs. The "self-sufficient" environment will appeal to and motivate the worker who wants a clear definition of control and power (the authoritarian personality), as well as the worker who is production or achievement-oriented. The latter type of worker must feel that he/she is playing a significant part in the production process, in order to be able to accept partial credit for the achievement. If he/she doesn't feel like an active contributor, then the achievement-oriented worker will feel alienated in a self-sufficient environment. Conversely, the good neighbor environment will be attractive to the worker with dominant social needs, though only the participative environment will be consistently supportive of these needs. The environment of a default manager will meet very few needs, hence employees will themselves default in their active interest in the institution. They will find alternative institutional settings in which to meet needs other than those involving security. The "default" worker is the classic bureaucrat.

The typical college or university environment is probably best described as self-sufficient or default, depending on the leadership style that is dominant in the institution. Many small liberal arts colleges (especially those that are still church-related) tend to be administered by self-sufficient managers, whereas the administration of prestigious private institutions tends to be default in nature--supporting the traditional role of academic leader as socratic facilitator or "first among peers." A default management style is also quite common in large public universities,

but for different reasons: much like the contemporary American city, the public university may be unmanageable. The university behaves more like a municipality or neighborhood than it does a formal, hierarchical organization or institution. The faculty, as members of this neighborhood, will usually experience mixed loyalties, giving primary allegiance to discipline or profession, or, like the bureaucrat, to institutions other than the university (family, church, recreation, etc.). "The university president," an unidentified pundit has said, "is like the man who sits on the edge of the dock trying to control the flight of the seagulls above."

During the past decade, some collegiate institutions have moved toward more participative managerial environments in which the workers (in this case, faculty, staff and, in a few instances, students) have gained a meaningful voice in the governance of the institution--though usually not in areas of immediate and tangible impact (e.g., budgets, student selection criteria). A truly participative environment has been explored at those few collegiate institutions which have, with varying degrees of success, embraced a community governance model.

McGregor, Blake and Mouton all affirm the assumption that a useful theory of human motivation will focus not on an explanation of why a specific person is active, but rather on an explanation of why that person has chosen a specific course of action. By focusing only on the reasons for activity (work), one ignores many of the primary motivators that may influence the direction of activity (e.g., curiosity, achievement and affiliation). Work may have been initiated as a means of acquiring the resources to meet primary needs (physiological and security). In this sense, work may be considered an "instrumental act" that is repeated because it is "reinforced" (rewarded). Work, however, may soon become rewarding in and of itself, once the primary needs are met (provided that the organizational climate is conducive to the satisfaction of alternative motives). Work in this way acquires "secondary autonomy." It meets an expanding universe of needs,

(physiological and security). In this sense, work may be considered an "instrumental act" that is repeated because it is "reinforced" (rewarded). Work, however, may soon become rewarding in and of itself, once the primary needs are met (provided that the organizational climate is conducive to the satisfaction of alternative motives). Work in this way acquires "secondary autonomy." It meets an expanding universe of needs, hence becomes more meaningful and consistently attractive. The repertoire of motives will increase in size and scope if the organization climate is also responsive to the changing needs and motivating properties associated with each stage of adult development.

To the extent that leaders of a collegiate institution can effectively integrate the goals of the institution with the expanding, work-related needs, motives and goals of its faculty, then members of the faculty can be expected to work in an effective manner toward the achievement of these institutional goals. To the extent that the faculty member's personal goals are viewed as being inevitably in opposition to the goals of the institution, and to the extent that successful performance of instruction is viewed as being somehow independent of the processes associated with personal motives and goals, then members of the faculty can be expected to perform in a manner that is only coincidentally related to goals of the institution.

The third theorist we will consider, Frederick Herzberg, expands on McGregor's and Blake's and Mouton's discussions of the motivational properties of work. Herzberg (Herzberg, et al., 1959) found in his studies of work motivation that the factors which make people satisfied with their jobs are not those which, when absent, make these people dissatisfied. Those factors which provide satisfaction are: achievement, recognition, work itself, responsibility and advancement. Each of these factors is directly task-related and corresponds to Blake and Mouton's performance dimension. The factors which independently yield dissatisfaction are interpersonal relationships (both with one's supervisor and with peers), the technical abilities of the supervisor, company

policy and administration, physical working conditions, and the individual's personal life off the job--factors that relate to the context or environment within which the job is performed. The process (people) dimensions that Blake and Mouton identify seems to closely correlate with the sources of dissatisfaction. Salary tends to serve as both a source of satisfaction and a source of dissatisfaction.

Examined in the context of our previous discussions about need hierarchies, Herzberg's findings seem to indicate that once basic security needs are met (salary), the sources of satisfaction in work tend to be related to a higher order of needs (esteem and actualization) than are sources of dissatisfaction (which primarily relate to social needs). One might hypothesize, using Maslow's hierarchy, that sources of dissatisfaction must be eliminated before the worker will find satisfaction, and that interpersonal and organization process issue must be confronted before the inherent satisfactions of effective task performance will be recognized.

Herzberg also suggests that sources of satisfaction ("satisfiers") tend to promote increased production, hence can be called "motivators." Sources of dissatisfaction, conversely, tend not to reduce production rates, nor does the elimination of these "dissatisfiers" increase production. Active resistance to a particular job may be reduced by elimination of "dissatisfiers;" however, the passive acceptance that results is not motivating to the worker. Turning once again to Blake and Mouton's model, we can conclude that a "good neighbor" policy will reduce work dissatisfaction, but will not itself increase the effectiveness of the work environment. Sayles and Strauss (1966, p. 145) indicate that this type of "hygienic" management: "may provide a pleasant environment in which to work and a considerable amount of around-the-job satisfaction, but little satisfaction through the job and little sense of enthusiasm or creativity." Conversely, the task-oriented environment can yield satisfaction for the employee only if he/she has enough influence (power) in this environment for it to be at least in part responsive to his/her needs. Once again, an integrated

approach to management seems to be essential if the worker--in this case, faculty member--is to be motivated in his/her work.

Systemic Factors:

Though the personal and organizational dimensions seem to cover most of the widely-known extrinsic theories of human motivation, there is a third dimension that potentially could yield significant insights into the motivations of faculty--the systemic dimension. Each member of our society must confront each day a complex, overlapping and often contradictory set of social systems. Some of these systems are political in nature, others are economic, religious, educational, etc. Some systems exist entirely within the institutions in which people work. Other systems tend to overlap or reside entirely outside these work-related institutions.

A social system can be defined as any group of people who construct boundaries and support an unequal distribution of power in order to accomplish certain common goals. System-boundaries are defined as implicit or explicit rules for membership and conduct. Power is defined as the capacity to control, based on the capacity to coerce, influence or inspire. Without boundaries or a gradient of power, a social system, like any physical or biological system, would lack coherence and direction, hence could not be goal-attaining.

Within any social system, there is also a flow of both information and resources. The rate and direction of this flow will vary drastically from one social system to another, and will have a profound impact on the motivations of people who occupy the system. In order to illustrate the dynamics of information and resource flow, we will specifically focus on one aspect of a social system, namely, the reward structure and its influence on cooperation and competition in the system. Other dimensions might yield equally as useful insights (e.g., the structures within a social system that encourage obedience [cf. Milgram, 1963].

Von Neumann and Morgenstern (1944) discuss the influence of reward structures on cooperative and competitive behavior in a social system by describing a hypothetical dilemma that confronts two men who have been arrested as criminal suspects. They have been placed in two different cells and are not allowed to communicate with one another. One at a time, each prisoner is presented with two options: to confess or not to confess. The decision made by prisoner A will have consequences that are in part dependent on the decisions made by prisoner B--and vice versa--as illustrated in Table 3.

TABLE THREE

PAYOFF MATRIX FOR THE PRISONER'S DILEMMA

		Prisoner B	
		Not Confess	Confess
Prisoner A	Not	1 yr. for A 1 yr. for B	20 yrs. for A 6 months for B
	Confess	6 months for A 20 years for B	8 yrs. for A 8 yrs. for B

If prisoner A confesses and prisoner B does not confess, then prisoner A will get only 6 months in prison for turning state's evidence. If both A and B confess, then both will receive a term of eight years. On the other hand, if A does not confess, then he will receive only one year, on a lesser charge, if B also does not confess. If B does confess (turns state's evidence) then A will be fully charged for the crime, receiving a 20 year prison term. The dilemma for A is profound: mutual non-confession would be of benefit to both prisoners, yet each prisoner can obtain even greater benefit by assuming cooperative behavior on the part of the other prisoner, and then confessing. However, the other prisoner

can be expected to consider the same option. Consequently, most players in this game will confess in order to avoid the 20-year term.

This particular condition is called a "non-zero-sum" game, for the two participants can cooperatively choose a course of action which, in relative terms, will benefit both participants. A "zero-sum" game is one in which any choice will inevitably benefit one player at the expense of the other player (as is the case in most competitive sports). The non-zero-sum game is in many ways much more destructive than zero-sum and can actually lead to much more competitive behavior. Non-zero sum requires an initial level of trust if cooperative behavior is to be an appropriate response. This level of trust is rarely present in new social systems, hence competitive behavior is anticipated. The non-zero-sum payoff matrix (Table Three) makes the anticipation of competition a "self-fulfilling prophecy"; consequently, competition is witnessed, leading to further reductions in the trust level, further increases in the tendency toward competition, etc. Unlike the zero-sum systems, in which there is no rational option other than competition, the non-zero-sum system will tend to produce "face saving" behavior and extensive rationalization concerning one's reasons for engaging in competitive behavior. Thus, even if communication channels are open, once the cycle of mistrust and competition has begun, the information that is conveyed will tend to be meaningless with reference to the resolution of conflict (cf. Deutsch and Drauss, 1962).

The prisoner's dilemma is often called a "mixed motive" game, for it places in conflict the rewards that come with both cooperation and competition. The motives associated with this type of reward structure are, in fact, even more profoundly mixed, for a variety of other needs soon become wrapped up in the negative spiral of mistrust, competition, distorted communication, face-saving and rationalization. Both task and process needs are blocked. Typically, even the basic security needs associated with holding a job (or, in an international context, physical survival)

are challenged in systems which perpetuate this type of reward structure.

When one examines the reward structures that typify collegiate insitutions, the dilemma of our two prisoners does not seem to be remote. During the past decade, for instance, only a limited number of tenured positions are available in most collegiate institutions to untenured faculty. Typically, these untenured faculty are being considered on a comparative rather than absolute basis. Thus, the relative success of one untenured faculty member is, in part, contingent on the relative failure of another untenured faculty member. This condition is understandable, and probably unavoidable. A zero-sum game best identifies this condition as we have described it so far. The system gets much more complex, however, and yields a much more destructive non-zero-sum game, when other factors are considered.

Untenured faculty are encouraged to work together on committees, in department meetings and even in the same classroom (team-teaching). This cooperation is quite understandable, and, once again, unavoidable. However, the untenured faculty are in this manner placed in a "mixed motive"/"non-zero-sum" game. The untenured faculty are frequently encouraged, through faculty development programs, to work closely together in the improvement of their instructional skills or in the creation of a supportive environment for continuing professional growth. While each of these cooperative efforts might improve the professional performance of the untenured faculty member and can ultimately improve the teaching-learning process at the collegiate institution, they create a dilemma for the untenured faculty member: does he/she independently work for his/her own career advancement at the expense of both his/her colleagues and institution, and his/her own professional growth? This dilemma places the Blake and Mouton grid in a somewhat different perspective. The "self-sufficient" manager (or faculty member) is one in a non-zero-sum system who chooses the competitive strategy, thereby meeting security and esteem needs, whereas the "good neighbor" selects a cooperative strategy, at the expense of the task, thereby meeting social needs. In a non-zero-sum system, one does not

have the option of integrating the two approaches to management, just as one must choose in a non-zero-sum game between the satisfaction of different kinds of needs. Neither of the available options optimizes the motivational potential of either participant in the system.

One must design social systems that do not depend on trust for cooperation to be rewarded. Rather the system should create conditions in which trust is a reasonable expectation. Trust should never be considered the goal of an organization or social system, but rather a by-product of effective design and implementation of this system. Conversely, mistrust should be considered symptomatic of profound system problems, possibly reflecting the presence of non-zero-sum reward structures. While in the example described above, there may not be any immediate solution to the dilemma of the untenured faculty member, it is essential that people who work with this man or woman, and who try to understand the motives that influence his/her behavior, be aware of the nature and often painful implications of the dilemma.

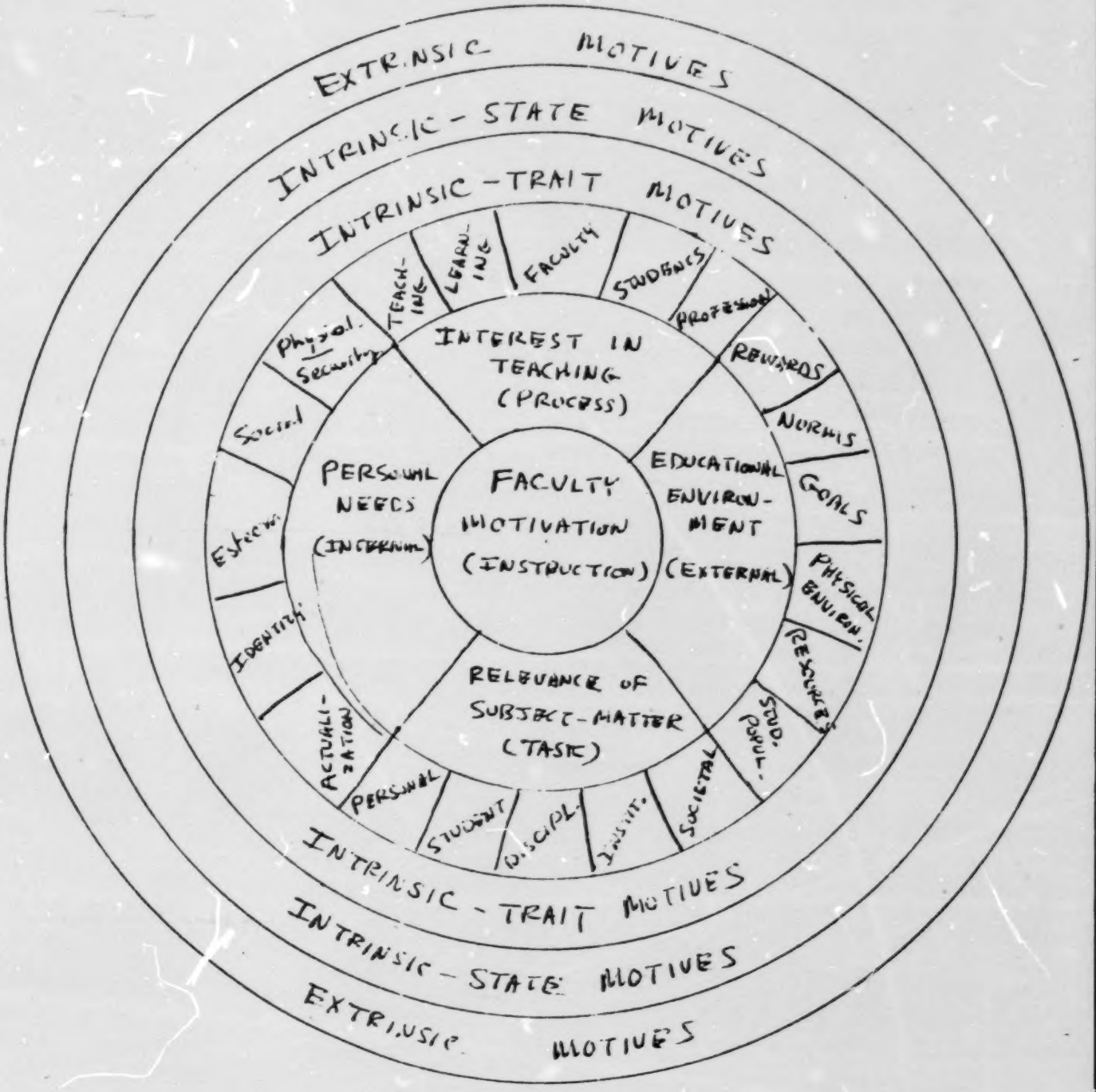
By simply increasing the level of trust in a social system one has not necessarily ameliorated the underlying causes of a "justifiable" mistrust. Meaningful system change should follow another set of guidelines. While social system theorists are certainly in agreement as to what these guidelines should be, several ingredients are commonly identified (cf. Beckhard, 1969, pp. 10-11). First, an effective and supportive work environment should be one in which work is judged against the accomplishment of specific goals that have been at least in part determined by and certainly acknowledged by all members of the system. Second, form should follow function in the system. The problem, task or project should determine how the human resources are organized. Precedents should be considered as useful information rather than as imperatives. Third, decisions in a social system should be made by or near the primary sources of information, regardless of the location of this source of a formal organization chart, i.e., those who know should decide. Fourth, rewards should be given out

not only for short-term gains or the achievement of certain performance standards (task goals) but also for the growth and development of subordinates and for the creation of a viable work group (process goals).

Fifth, communication laterally and vertically in the system should be relatively undisturbed. People should generally be open and confronting and they should share all relevant facts, including feelings, and feel neither rewarded nor punished for this activity. Sixth, there should be a minimum amount of inappropriate win-lose (zero-sum) activities between individuals or groups, and even fewer non-zero-sum activities. Constant efforts should exist at all levels of the system to treat conflict as a problem which is to be solved rather than savored. Seventh, conflicts around tasks and projects should be expected, as expressed in a clash of ideas; however, relatively little energy should be expended in clashes over interpersonal difficulties, because these difficulties have been anticipated and worked through at an early stage. The system should be open to information flow between all parts of the system and between this system and other systems. Ninth, the uniqueness of each person (and unit) in the system should be acknowledged and valued, as should the interdependence of these people (and units) in the system. A managerial system should be designed to support this value (participative management: Blake and Mouton). Finally, the system should be self-correcting (feedback) and self-renewing (Gardner, 1963). It is a system which learns from its mistakes (cf. Michael, 1973).

Section V: Preliminary Model

We have attempted in the last three sections of this working paper to review a wide variety of theories that relate to the issue of human motivation. We have selected theories that are either central to the field of motivation or offer an interesting and potentially fertile alternative perspective on the factors that contribute to our understanding of human motivation. We have also attempted to relate these theories, in a tentative manner, to


EXTRINSIC MOTIVES
INTRINSIC - STATE MOTIVES
INTRINSIC - TRAIT MOTIVES
INTEREST IN TEACHING (PROCESS)
EDUCATIONAL ENVIRON-MENT (EXTERNAL)
RELEVANCE OF SUBJECT-MATTER (TASK)
PERSONAL NEEDS (INTERNAL)
FACULTY MOTIVATION (INSTRUCTION)
TEACH-ING
LEARN-ING
FACULTY
STUDENTS
PROFESSION
REWARDS
NORMS
GOALS
PHYSICAL ENVIRON.
RESOURCES
STUD.-PERSNL.
SOCIETAL
INSTIT.
DISCIPL.
STUDENT
PERSONAL
ACTUALI-ZATION
IDENTITY
ESTEEM
Social
Physiol. Security
INTRINSIC - TRAIT MOTIVES
INTRINSIC - STATE MOTIVES
EXTRINSIC MOTIVES

the issue of faculty motivation. In the second working paper we will explore the properties of faculty motivation in more depth, with specific reference to that information which is currently available about faculty motivation.

To bridge the gap between these two papers, we will conclude this first working paper with the brief description of a highly tentative first approximation to a general model of faculty motivation. Table Four contains a graphic representation of this model. The inner circle might be considered the summation of various motivating forces that impinge on the faculty at any one moment in time. This overall level of motivation could be reflected in the emotions of the faculty member. He/she might, for instance, be asked to indicate how he/she feels about his/her role as a teacher. The overall level might also be reflected in his/her conceptualization of the teaching role. He/she might draw up a list of the positive and negative aspects of college teaching, giving each aspect a rating as to its motivational "force" (to use Lewin's concept). Third, the overall motivational level might be reflected in, and measured by, the behavior of the faculty member in the classroom. Through self-ratings (possibly based on video-taped replays of a class), as well as peer and/or student observations and ratings, the behavior of the faculty member could be assessed relative to specific motivational criteria (e.g., amount of eye contact with students as an indication of affiliative interest).

In the first ring around this inner circle, four categories of faculty motivation are identified which are specifically concerned with instruction. The first category is labeled "<u>interest in teaching</u>." The faculty member feels that teaching and/or the learning process is inherently interesting. He/she might also enjoy contact with students, and may find that college teaching provides an opportunity for extensive and enjoyable contact with other people in an academic setting. He/she might also enjoy teaching as a profession--its esteem, autonomy, financial security, etc. This source of motivation derives primarily from the processes

of instruction, rather than from the content of this instruction. The faculty member who derives primary gratification from this source would enjoy teaching regardless of his/her discipline, institution, or even, possibly, level of instruction (primarily, secondary, undergraduate, graduate, post-graduate).

The second motivational category relates to the task rather than process of teaching--that is to the subject matter that is being taught. The faculty member enjoys teaching because he/she finds the subject matter to be relevant to one or more valued populations: (a) himself/herself, (b) his/her students, (c) his/her discipline, (d) his/her institution, or (e) his/her society. The subject matter may be immediately relevant (proximal), or it may be assumed by the faculty member to be relevant over a long period of time (distal). A faculty member who is primarily motivated to teach as a result of interest in the subject matter will tend to vary in his/her level of interest and enthusiasm depending on what he/she is teaching, whereas the faculty who is primarily motivated by an interest in teaching will tend to vary in level of interest depending on how he/she is teaching.

The third category of faculty motivation is labeled personal need. The profession of teaching directly meets a series of needs that are immediately associated with either the task or the process of teaching. These needs tend to be associated with intrinsic sources of motivation (such as needs for security, social and stimulation needs, needs for esteem and identity, and need for self-actualization). the faculty member who is dominated by this source of motives will tend neither to be task-oriented nor process-oriented, but will instead be self-oriented (cf. Bales, 1953).

The fourth category of faculty motivation encompasses the variety of factors that make up the educational environment in which the faculty member works. These environmental factors are considered either compatible or incompatible with his/her goals or methods of instruction. Some sources of compatibility/ incompatibility are: (1) institutional/departmental rewards,

(2) institutional/departmental norms, (3) institutional/departmental goals, (4) physical setting of the classroom, office, etc., (5) institutional resources, and (6) characteristics of the student population. The faculty member who is dominated by these motivational sources will tend toward the role of "organization man," "politician" or "revolutionary." The structures and processes of the organization will tend to dominate his interests as a college teacher. He/she, in other words, will tend to teach primarily out of a love/hate preoccupation with the operations of a specific institution or higher education in general. This category is closely related to the extrinsic sources of motivation.

The third, fourth and fifth rings of this motivational diagram represent the three different general sources of human motivation that we have examined in this working paper. We propose that the faculty-specific motivational factors that are identified in the inner ring are, in fact, vehicles for the expression of more basic human motives that are not specific to any occupational group. Though the personal and environmental motives in the inner ring are probably more immediately linked to these general human motives than are the other two categories, these latter categories (interest in teaching and in subject matter) cannot be considered in isolation from the more general sources of motivation.

The three outer rings are also closely linked with one another. The intrinsic-state and trait motives act as screens or filters for the extrinsically-derived motives. "Presses" (to use Murray's term) from the environment will have no impact on a faculty member if these presses are not in some sense related to the development tasks and personal needs of the faculty member. Similarly, the intrinsic state motives are in some sense screened or filtered by the trait motives, for if the developmental tasks do not directly relate to major and long-term needs of the faculty member, then they will not be performed. Growth and development are too painful for anyone to persistently seek to achieve them, unless they are closely tied to major personal needs and goals.

In a comparable fashion, the motives which are specifically associated with the instructional performance of faculty (inner ring) will link with only a sub-set of the more general motives (outer rings) which engage faculty. The general motives which are not associated with the faculty member's work might be central to other aspects of the faculty member's life or may remain unexpressed.

In summary, an effective research program that examines faculty motivation, or an effective faculty development program which purports to be sensitive to the motives of faculty, must address each of these complex motivational dimensions, as well as the interaction between these dimensions. A more detailed model is certainly called for, once we have obtained more information about faculty motivation. The second working paper will hopefully prepare the way for the collection of such information.

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WORKING PAPER ON FACULTY MOTIVATION:

A SURVEY OF THEORY AND RESEARCH CONCERNING

FACULTY MOTIVATION

Section I: Introduction

The sources of motivation and job satisfaction for faculty are probably perceived quite differently by the American public than they are by college faculty. As Herbert Livesey (1975, p.4) has noted in his book The Professors:

> . . . the American college professor has been the most pampered professional in our society. Despite . . . grievances of often dubious legitimacy . . . no other occupational group can match the accumulated compensations, both economic and psychic, of the professoriate. Only in private do professors concede this reality . . . . What they already have is impressive.

Livesey cites the impressive salaries of most faculty (especially given the nine month year), as compared to other salaried professional and technical workers in the United States. He also observes that the professor's obligations are comparatively low. The college teacher must report to the typical campus no more than one hundred and twenty days of each calendar year--though Livesey does acknowledge the fact that additional time is taken up in classroom preparation, committee work, etc.

At the heart of Livesey's (1975, p. 27) contention that the college professor is in a highly favored profession is the notion of freedom:

> No other worker enjoys it to the same degree or in so many dimensions. Being a professor means nearly half of every year free to read, to study, to travel, to idle, to be with one's family. . . . In a broader sense, it means the freedom to speak vigorously on any issue with little fear of economic reprisal.

Livesey, however, would be the first to admit that these, and other tangible benefits that are available to the college professor (e.g., free tuition for his/her children, excellent retirement plans), cannot account for the rich diversity of faculty. His book itself is primarily devoted to an exposition of the unique needs and interests of several exceptional professors. Furthermore, Livesey, like many others who have observed or interviewed faculty (e.g., Sanford, 1971; Axelrod, 1973; Freedman, 1973; Freedman, et al, 1976), find that the primary interests and goals of faculty generally lie outside the domain of salary, benefits and reduced obligations. Livesey is probably accurate in emphasizing the economic and psychic freedom associated with the college teaching profession, but he has not explored all relevant dimensions of this motivating factor or examined many of the other motivating factors to be found in the professorial life of a productive faculty member.

What then does motivate faculty--especially in their roles as teachers? We have encountered this question from one perspective in the first working paper by reviewing a series of theories about human motivation, and by trying to relate these theories to an understanding of faculty motivation. In this second working paper we will focus on the issue of faculty motivation from a more concrete perspective, examining the research and theories that have been directly focused on faculty motivation. While the interesting biographical descriptions of Livesey and others who have written about faculty (e.g., Robert Persig, the author of a highly disturbing account of the physical and psychic journeys of a faculty member: Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance) are provocative, they do not provide a systematic perspective on the sources of faculty motivation.

As Sanford (1971) has noted, very little research is currently available concerning the attitudes, values or role-definitions of faculty. We must add faculty motivation to this list. In our review of research on faculty motivation, therefore, we have not restricted our attention to research on faculty motivation, per se, but have also explored related areas of research and theory about faculty (e.g., teaching styles).

We will somewhat arbitrarily divide our survey on faculty motivation into three sections: (1) intrinsic-trait, (2) intrinsic-state, and (3) extrinsic. In each section we will review the relevant literature and relate it to the theories presented in the first working paper. We will also briefly speculate about other areas of research that might be pursued, thereby leading to the list of researchable hypotheses that are listed in Appendix D.

Section II: Intrinsic-Trait Sources of Faculty Motivation

It is surprising to discover that little research has been performed concerning the traits or needs which influence or determine the interests of faculty as teachers. Some research has been conducted on the relationship between the personality characteristics of teachers and their ratings by students, though the results have shown that those traits which are valued in our culture, e.g., friendliness, cooperativeness, agreeableness, restraint and objectivity (Ryans, 1960), are also the traits associated with effective teaching. In one study on college teaching (Issaacson, McKeachie and Milholland, 1963)--to illustrate the process--teaching assistants in a psychology class were asked to describe their colleagues in terms of five traits or characteristics: surgency (assertiveness, energy, etc.), agreeableness, dependability, emotional stability and culture (artistic, effectively intellectual, etc.). Only the fifth trait (culture) was found to significantly differentiate teaching assistants in their instructional ratings by students. The failure of several of the other traits to significantly differentiate successful and unsuccessful teachers, however, did lead the researchers to

speculate that students might differ in their reactions to these traits (i.e., differing student learning styles), thereby canceling out any significant effects.

The description and examination of teaching styles provides a second approach to the study of faculty motivation that might yield useful information concerning motivating traits in faculty. Implicit in the current models of teaching style is the assumption that faculty are differently attracted to the teaching-learning process because this process will meet differing personal needs. To date there has been a fairly large amount of material written about teaching styles, though almost all of it is based on informal observations rather than systematic research. We will briefly review this literature, then speculate on the relevance of it to the issue of faculty motivation.

One of the first attempts to categorize different styles of teaching was made by Joseph Adelson (1961, pp. 395-98, 400-01), who drew an analogy between primitive modes of healing and types of teaching:

> The teacher as shaman: Here the teacher's orientation is narcissistic. The public manner does not matter; this type of teacher is not necessarily vain or exhibitionistic; he may in fact appear to be withdrawn, diffident, even humble. Essentially however, he keeps the audiences' attention focused on himself. He invites us to observe the personality in its encounter with the subject matter. . ..When this orientation is combined with unusual gifts, we have a charismatic teacher, one of those outstanding and memorable personalities who seem more than life-size. The charismatic teacher is marked by power, energy and commitment. . . . In some cases the narcissistic teacher's impression on us is strong but transient; he moves us, but the spell does not survive the moment. We admire him as we admire a great performer . . . .
>
> The teacher as priest: The priestly healer claims his power not through personal endowment, but through his office: he is the agent of an omnipotent authority. Do we have a parallel to this in teaching? I would say it is the teacher who stresses not his personal virtues, but his membership in a powerful or admirable collectivity. . . . The narcissistic

> teacher to some degree stands apart from his discipline and seems to say: "I am valuable in myself," The priestly teacher says: "I am valuable for what I belong to. I represent and personify a collective identity." . . . One of the teacher's tasks is to help the student absorb the sense of the collective past and accept the common blueprint for the future. . . . One of the distinctive features of this mode of teaching is that both teacher and student may share a common model or group of models, either exalted contemporaries or Great Ancestors. . . . The educational process is in some dgree an extended rite of passage; the teacher's role is to prepare the student for the trials he will endure, and to administer the tests that will initiate him.
>
> The teacher as mystic healer: The mystic healer finds the course of illness in the patient's personality. He rids the patient of disease by helping him to correct an inner flaw or to realize a hidden strength. The analogy here--perhaps a remote one--is to the teacher I will term altruistic. He concentrates neither on himself, not the subject-matter, nor the discipline, but on the student, saying: "I will help you become what you are." We may recall Michelangelo's approach to sculpture: looking at the raw block of marble, he tried to uncover the statue within it. So does the altruistic teacher regard his unformed student; this type of teacher keeps his own achievement and personality secondary; he works to help the student find what is best and most essential within himself....(This) is a model-less approach to teaching; the teacher points neither to himself nor to some immediately visible figure, but chooses to work with students' potential and toward an intrinsicially abstract or remote ideal. . . . (This) mode of teaching demands great acumen, great sensitivity--the ability to vary one's attack according to the phase of teaching and to the student--now lenient, now stern, now encouraging, now critical.

Adelson provides an intriguing and graphic portrayal of three different kinds of teaching; however, his description of the teacher as mystic healer, the one style he apparently values most highly, seems the least precise. Furthermore, this threefold categorization does not seem to have confronted the full complexity of the teaching process.

In more recent studies, Richard Mann (Mann, et al, 1970, pp. 1-19) has defined six different styles of teaching, all of which are potentially effective in certain instructional settings. These six are:

The teacher as expert: This aspect of the teacher role conjures up the disparity between teacher and student with respect to the knowledge, experience and wisdom they can apply to the subject matter of the course. The teacher is the expert, at least within certain defined areas of knowledge. His presumed expertise underlies both his right to be there and the students' interest in taking the course.

The teacher as formal authority: Viewed from the perspective of the larger social structure within which the college classroom is located, the teacher is an agent not only of instruction but also of control and evaluation. He is responsible to a group of administrators and external agents who expect him to insure uniformity of standards and a justifiable evaluation system based on merit when he presents his set of grades at the end of the course.

The teacher as socializing agent: . . . the teacher's goals typically reach far beyond a particular classroom or course. The teacher is usually a member of the community of scholars, accredited by a professional or academic discipline, and he is also a member of an institution that may be highly relevant to a student's occupational aspirations. The teacher resembles in some sense a gatekeeper to a vocational world. He serves as a representative of his field, and especially of the values, assumptions, and style of intellectual life that characterize his discipline. Frequently, it is he who does not pass a student to the next plateau or screening process, or he may do so with varying degrees of support and pleasure.

The teacher as facilitator: There are times in the teacher-student relationship when the teacher seems much less absorbed with his own expertise, his power, and his field than with the aspirations of the students. . . . By not assuming that he can specify what skills or goals they bring with them, he created for himself the complex task of determining what individual students have come to do, what they seem able to do already, and what they might need help in doing better. . . .From this it follows that the typical activities of the teacher as facilitator may entail far more listening and questioning than lecturing and assigning.

The teacher as ego ideal: (Students) . . . use their teacher in the continuous process of formulating and approaching their ideals. It may only be some of the students some of the time, and the idealization may be limited to certain aspects of the teacher's total performance, but this process is an important part of the college classroom.

The teacher as person: The teacher as a person aims at engaging students in a mutually validating relationship. Ideally, both the student and teacher feel sufficient trust and freedom to share their ideas and personal reactions not only to the course material, but also to matters that

may fall outside the usual definition of what is relevant in a classroom.

A somewhat different taxonomy has been developed by Joseph Axelrod (1973, pp. 10-14). These styles or "prototypes" as he labels them, are first described in terms of two different modes of teaching:

> Didactic modes: The teaching styles we classify under the didactic modes are designed to achieve objectives that are generally clear and relatively easy to formulate. These objectives include the mastery of a definite body of information or the acquisition of specific motor-kinetic skills or specific mathematical or verbal skills (in English as well as in other languages). The didactic modes thus stress either cognitive knowledge acquired primarily by memorization, or mastery of skills acquired primarily by repetition and practice.
>
> Evocative modes: The basic difference between the didactic modes and the evocative modes is the method used in the learning process: the major means employed in the evocative modes are inquiry and discovery.

Although Axelrod indicates that there are various styles of didactic teaching, he does not specifically describe them, for his primary focus is on the evocative modes.

As we have seen, each of the evocative modes focus on the process of inquiry and discovery. There are major differences, however, in the ways in which these processes take place, depending on the relative emphasis placed on the teacher, the learner, and the subject matter or skill being taught. Axelrod identifies three different styles based on these relative emphases. "One of the major teaching prototypes focuses on subject matter," Axelrod writes,

> and it is therefore the other two elements--teachers and learners--that must undergo adjustment. Neither teachers nor learners are permitted to reshape the subject matter, except in quite minor ways. The subject matter is simply not expected to accommodate itself to them, no matter what their requirements or special conditions might be. Teachers who are subject-matter-oriented usually view with alarm any suggestion that the subject matter of a course ought to be changed.

The second teaching prototype focuses on the instructor himself:

> The instructor-centered teacher believes that the other two elements--students and subject matter--should accommodate themselves to him. He is, after all, the possessor of knowledge and a model for learners. . . . Students and subject matter remain important for the instructor-centered teacher, but they must be adjusted to fit what he is.

The third prototype focuses on the student:

> Student-centered professors argue that the teaching-learning process will not be effective if conditions require the student element to be vastly reshaped before the process can get started. Their view is that if the student is expected to accommodate himself to the other two elements in the educational transaction, if he is pushed into a shape other than his own, the whole educational process is endangered.

Finally, Axelrod identifies two different types of student-centered prototypes:

> One type of professor emphasizes the personal development of the student, but limits the scope of his endeavor to the development of the student's mind. These professors follow the Student-as-mind Prototype.... The second type of student-centered professor emphasizes the personal development of the whole student--his entire personality and not just his mind. These professors follow the Student-as-person Prototype.

In comparing the categorizations of Adelson, Mann and Axelrod, several obvious similarities can be noted. All three authors identify some styles that focus primarily on the subject matter of the course. Adelson defines the "priestly" functions of some teachers, while Mann identifies the "expert" and "formal authority" in terms of their concern for subject matter. Axelrod views his didactic modes and the subject-centered evocative mode in a similar manner. All three authors also identify several styles that focus primarily on the student: Adelson's "mystic healer," Mann's "facilitator," and Axelrod's two student-centered modes.

The teacher-oriented styles of the three authors, however, are not fully compatible. Mann describes the teachers who serve as "socializing agents," "ego ideals,: and "persons" in a way that seems teacher-oriented; however, the "socializing agent" in many

ways resembles Axelrod's "student-as-mind" prototype, whereas teacher as "person" is certainly integral to the explorations by the students of their own personhood. Adelson's "shaman" and the teacher-centered style of Axelrod, on the other hand, do seem to be compatible.

The differences that appear in the categorizations of Adelson and Axelrod, on the one hand, and Mann on the other, may reside not so much in their images of the teacher as in their assumption about the impact which each type of teacher has on his/her students. An accurate description of teaching styles must therefore incorporate a consideration of the learning styles of the students who are responding to the teacher. The most effective teacher may be the man or woman who is sensitive to the differing learning styles of his/her students, and has a broad enough repertoire of methods and enough confidence in his/her own image and integrity as a college teacher that he/she can adopt a variety of teaching styles.

Bergquist and Phillips (1975, p. 18) have attempted to summarize the information we now have about teaching and learning styles (as well as course goals and environmental factors, which may be as important as teaching and learning styles) and have integrated this information in a three-category system:[1]

> Content-centered teaching and learning: The primary task in this mode of teaching and learning is to cover the material of a course or discipline in a coherent and systematic manner. The content of various courses within a discipline is usually kept discrete, and the organization of the discipline is ordered in generally the same way in most colleges and universities. The teacher is viewed as expert, formal authority, or "priest"; the most compatible students are those who exhibit competitive or dependent learning styles. The goals of courses with this orientation are usually set by the demands of the material; evaluation is usually objective and performance is measured against the material. Lectures and formal discussions are the usual method of instruction. The content of these courses is primarily cognitively and/or skills oriented, and the environment will probably either be oriented toward the teacher as a source of information or will be automated.

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[1] A similar model was suggested several years ago by Roger Harrison (1969).

Instructor-centered teaching and learnings: In this mode of teaching and learning, attention is most often focused on the instructor, not primarily as a source of information, but as a model of the way one should approach a particular field or discipline. The best ways of understanding and handling the concepts of the course are demonstrated by the instructor's own behavior and personality. The teacher is usually viewed as a socializing agent or ego ideal; he is a "shaman" and performer; when particularly talented, he can be very charismatic. He may make dramatic use of the lecture format while discussion sessions tend to be oriented toward him. Students who are highly dependent will rather non-critically embrace this mode; participant students will approve of this mode if the instructor appears to be competent; the discouraged worker may find this mode comfortable if the instructor pays some attention to him. Both the goals and standards of evaluation are usually set by the teacher, often in a subjective manner. The content of these courses, though often cognitively oriented, may be either teacher- or interaction-oriented, with the focus in the latter case clearly on the teacher.

Student-centered teaching and learning: This kind of teaching and learning emphasizes the intellectual training and/or personal growth of the students. The teacher acts primarily as a facilitator and as a person in relationship to students who are collaborative or independent. This mode is also appropriate for the avoidant student if he gives the experience a chance. Rather heavy emphasis is often given in this mode to establishing learning contracts between teacher and student which enable them to define specific learning goals, resources, and means of evaluation which are uniquely tailored for each student. The teaching methods most frequently used are student run discussions, group discussions, role plays, simulations, field work, and independent study. The content here will be either cognitively or affective oriented, sheltered experience-oriented or experience-oriented.

In examining the implications of these teaching style models for faculty motivation, one particular point stands out clearly: a common set of motivates cannot be defined for all faculty, at least in terms of intrinsic sources. The differing teaching styles of faculty, to the extent that they do exist, reveal or reflect a significant difference in the sources of gratification for faculty in their performance as teachers. Though we do not have any data which confirm this conclusion, we can briefly speculate on what some of the different trait-style associations might be, making use of several theories that were discussed in the previous working paper.

The content-centered teacher may be strongly oriented toward such personal needs as order and endurance (Murray, 1938). The emphasis on disciplinary boundaries and on "normal science" (Kuhn, 1962) which typifies this type of teacher, reinforces the need for order. Endurance is a vital need for all graduate students, and this may possibly extend to the demands of many content-oriented teachers for high levels of student accountability (frequent exams, papers, etc.). If Harrison's (1969) description of comparable learning styles is accurate, then one might also expect the content-oriented teacher to be deeply concerned with Maslow's need for security. For instance, the new faculty member will embrace a content-centered approach to his/her teaching in order to protect his/her own tenuous position in the department and/or in order to protect himself/herself from students until such time as his/her personal and professional image and role have been clarified and made operational. Keys (1975) relates the content-centered teaching style to Blake and Mouton's Managerial Grid (see Appendix B, Section IV). He describes the "disseminator" in much the same way as Blake and Mouton describe the "self-sufficient" manager. One must assume from this correlation that content-centered faculty are concerned primarily with issues of control (cf. discussion in Appendix B, Section IV).

The teacher-centered faculty member might be expected to find fulfillment of Maslow's social needs in his/her performance in the classroom: dominance, nurturance and exhibition. He/she would resemble the "good neighbor" manager, in this regard. Similarly, the student-centered faculty member might select his/her teaching style in order to meet either the need for affiliation (working collaboratively with students) or the need for autonomy (allowing the students to work on their own). This teacher would act similarly to the "participative" manager. Further research is obviously needed to determine if these relationships between personal needs and teaching styles do exist and what their effect might be on the interests of faculty in teaching and/or the performance of faculty in the classroom (particularly as related to the compatibility

between these needs and teaching styles, on the one hand, and the needs and learning styles of students, on the other hand).

Section III: Intrinsic-State Sources of Faculty Motivation

The developmental stages of faculty have been rather extensively discussed during the past two years--largely as a result of the writings of Harold Hodgkinson (1974) and members of the Wright Institute (Sanford, 1971; Freedman, 1973). Borrowing heavily from the work of David Levinson (cf. Appendix B, Section III), Hodgkinson describes the primary developmental tasks of faculty at various age levels, making full use of his own extensive observations of faculty and readings from relevant literature.

Hodgkinson begins with faculty who are "leaving the family." He notes that collegiate institutions can function as intermediary testing grounds for adult behavior. They are protected settings, which are essentially free from the demands of the typical world of work. For the faculty member, this sheltered environment is the one in which he/she lives as an adult. Consequently, he/she is relatively isolated, states Hodgkinson (1974, p. 265) "from the psychological economic and social demands of the world of work places on most people, especially those who work with their hands and those who could not physically leave home."

In "getting into the adult world," the young (age 22-29) faculty member is also confronted with several unique conditions. As a graduate student, he/she usually is given an opportunity to test out various aspects of the academic career (teaching, research, scholarship, business, etc.). Furthermore, the "dream" of this age level is quite similar for most aspiring academicians: a financially and intellectually successful book, prestigious advisement and consultation, leadership in one's discipline, getting tenure, getting large research grants and "being beloved by generations of students" (Hodgkinson, 1974, p. 226).

Though Hodgkinson does not mention this fact (and may disagree with it), the role of mentor is quite different for most faculty

than for other professionals. Typically, most professionals find one or more faculty during their undergraduate or graduate educational experience that is inspiring. This faculty member serves as a "short-term mentor," advising the student on career-choices, serving as a model to students in the way they perceive the demands and challenges of a specific profession. For the faculty member, however, the mentorship may continue beyond the years of formal education, for many more aspects of the mentor's professional life are appropriate to him/her than to other professionals. As a result, the mentor of faculty members may be a lingering image that influences this faculty member's academic goals and styles, as well as his/her interests in teaching. Among those people who extensively interview faculty about their own career development, important information almost inevitably emerges when the faculty member is asked to describe the one teacher who had the greatest influence on his/her decision to become a college teacher.

The major developmental task of "settling down," which occupies attention of most 30-38 year old faculty, tends to be focused on the goal of achieving tenure, rank, status or leadership in a specific committee. At this age level, according to Hodgkinson (1974, p. 268), "most faculty...are still mainly dependent on others because of the slowness with which higher education rewards ability and competence..." The second half of this age period, labeled "becoming one's own man," tends to be the period of peak activity for faculty, in terms of publications and research efforts; not coincidentally, it is also the period when critical decisions are made about tenure, departmental leadership, etc. These decisions tend to produce great stress in the faculty member's person and professional lives (often leading to personal and marital crises), for these decisions often have a long term consequence in the career of faculty (especially given the decreased career mobility of most faculty during this decade.

During the mid-career transition, which Levinson and Hodgkinson link to ages 39-43, many questions tend to be asked concerning

whether or not the faculty member is truly engaged in a "profession," given the perceived autonomy and power of doctors and lawyers. Faculty also must often revise their "dream" to a more realistic level. They must face the facts that if they remain in the academic world, they will teach at a collegiate insitution that is not highly prestigous, they will not be treated with any special favor by their colleagues, and they will retain only a modicum of autonomy, influence and power. Many faculty leave teaching at this point.

At age 43, Levinson and Hodgkinson speak of a period of "restablization." The faculty member may become a mentor to one or more younger faculty or students. He/she is likely to value the institution for what it is, rather than for what it should be (provided that he/she has decided to stay in teaching). Hodgkinson describes this period of life for the faculty member in quite positive terms:

> Many faculty members between the ages of 43 and 50 find a set of activities that orchestrate life and provide meaningful alternatives and supplements to teaching and research. Additionally, "productivity" becomes defined by the person's own goals rather than by an external set of criteria. Around 50, these activities have often provided the faculty member with a host of new friends, often people engaged in other forms of work besides teaching, and this may open many doors on how life is to be lived. For many faculty, then, this is a period in which there seems not to be enough time in the day.

Though Levinson discontinues his description of adult stages of development at this period, Hodgkinson speculates about developmental tasks that face the faculty member beyond age 50. Faculty members must often reduce their professional commitments, because of decreased physical energy, and may find that this reduced commitment yields greater autonomy. Faculty may also bring "greater perspective to their teaching and writing, the discipline may be less important and the concerns of humanity may increase in importance." (Hodgkinson, 1974, p. 273) In this hopeful frame of mind, Hodgkinson leaves us to speculate about the transitions to retirement for faculty.

While the Hodgkinson-Levinson model of faculty development stages provides us with some valuable insights into the dominant, age-linked concerns of faculty, it tends to be based on sketchy impressions and informal observations. The work of Nevitt Sanford, Mervin Freedman and their colleagues at the Wright Institute provides a perspective on both the developmental phases through which faculty pass and the milieu or culture in which this development takes place.

Beginning with the exceptional doctoral dissertation written by Brown and Shukraft (1971), members of the Wright Institute have interviewed over 700 faculty at four collegiate institutions (Central Michigan University, Stanford University, Johnston College at the University of Redlands, and the University of California at Berkeley). They have arrived at several important conclusions with reference to faculty motivation. First, most of the faculty who have been interviewed regard themselves as effective teachers, and want to be viewed by their students and peers as effective. Yet, low priority is usually given to teaching by these faculty. "Teachers at distinguished insitutions," according to Sanford (1971):

> are oriented not to their undergraduate student but to their discipline. They want to present their subject rather than to influence the development of students, and they prefer graduate to undergraduate teaching. They define themselves primarily as members of their discipline, and their self-esteem depends most heavily upon the esteem of colleagues in their field and their adult advancement within it.

In terms of the teaching styles described above, Sanford and his associates seem to have observed a predominance of content-centered teachers in the institutions they visited.

Sanford also points out that most college and university professors tend to share a "culture" rather than a profession (e.g. undergraduate teaching). This culture is a set of shared values and perspectives concerning teaching and the disciplines. While this culture provides some defensive support for the faculty

member's psychic light from the classroom, it apparently provides few satisfactions for many faculty. Sanford has observed widespread unhappiness and cynicism among the faculty who have been interviewed (cf. Freedman and Sanford, 1973; Freedman, et al., 1976, Chapt. 1). The "dream" that Hodgkinson describes, has been shattered for most faculty: they find very little connection between the achievement of academic status and the achievement of most other human needs (cf. Bess, 1970). In this sense, the entire field of collegiate instruction might, to borrow Levinson-Hodgkinson's term, be considered in a state of "mid-career transition"--a transition that has been exacerbated by the dramatic reduction in public support for academically-based research and, ultimately, for higher education itself (Freedman, et al., 1976, Chapt. 1).

In addition to their description of the academic culture, members of the Wright Institute have affirmed, as has Hodgkinson, the validity of several models of adult development that were discussed in the first working paper (Appendix B., Section III). Sanford (1971) describes the need for a sense of competence, self-discovery and discovery of others--Erikson's stages of identity, intimacy and generativity. Bloom, Ralph and Freedman (1973, Chapter 3) have proposed three patterns of faculty response to the student movement in the late 1960's. These responses relate to Loevinger's model of adult development (see Appendix B, Section III):

> First, standing pat, or sticking strictly--even rigidly--to the pattern of values and behavior towards students that existed before the appearance of student unrest on the campus (Loevinger's stage of conformity); second, radical accommodation to the new student values and behaviors, a kind of total flipping over to a new outlook, almost an identification with students (a transition into Loevinger's stage of conscientiousness); and third, a kind of integration of the new values into a scheme of things broad enough and flexible enough to embrace the new without any total rejection of the old (Loevinger's stage of autonomy). (Sanford, 1971)

Ralph (1973, Chapter 5) also describes a five stage model of faculty development, and estimates the percentage of faculty he

interviewed who belong at each stage. At stage one (16% of the faculty), the faculty member tends to be primarily affiliated with his/her disciplinary group. This stage seems to correspond to Loevinger's "conformist" stage and Levinson-Hodgkinson's stage of "getting into the adult world." At the second stage (21%), the primary sources of authority (his/her discipline) remain intact; however, the knowledge within the discipline becomes increasingly complex. Loevinger's "conscientiousness" and Levinson-Hodgkinson's "settling down" seem to parallel this stage. At the third stage (16%), doubt sets in and permissiveness seems to pervade his/her teaching. Levinson and Hodgkinson describe a comparable battle for the adult male to "become his own man." Loevinger speaks of a striving for autonomy. At this stage, the faculty member seems to be open to choice and diversity, yet has not fully integrated his/her diverse perspectives.

At stage four (21%) and five (26%), the faculty member is more sensitive to the developmental needs of students and is more interested in the processes than the content of education. The faculty member will approach his students from a somewhat more structured perspective than in stage three, but will design his/her interactions with students in order to maximize the autonomy of the students. These stages seem to match Loevinger's stage of ego integrity and Levinson-Hodgkinson's optimistic impressions concerning middle age stabilization and growth.[2]

The insights concerning faculty development and the academic culture, which members of the Wright Institute have offered cannot be easily summarized or categorized, for these insights tend to emerge from a careful reading of the extensive case histories that have been written on the basis of interviews and institutional assessments (Freedman, et al., 1976). Furthermore, the investigations of the Wright Institute primarily have been directed toward

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[2]An interesting, descriptive account of a similar pattern of development has been written by Axelrod (1973) with reference to a single faculty member.

a description of the culture in which faculty are most likely to experience personal and professional growth, rather than toward an increased understanding of the ingredients in the present or potential academic culture which might increase the interests of faculty in teaching. We can however, extract several important conclusions concerning intrinsic (as well as extrinsic) sources of faculty motivation from the extensive writings of the Wright Institute staff.

First, the current academic culture seems to be supportive of faculty so long as their developmental concerns are primarily associated with their discipline and research activities. When higher-order developmental concerns, associated with teaching and student development, tend to dominate, then the faculty member is likely to feel isolated from his/her colleagues, and estranged from the values and norms of his/her (academic) culture. The Wright Institute staff suggest that discussions about teaching can legitimate these developmental concerns, as well as provide a means whereby these concerns can be jointly explored and clarified.

Secondly, even if the formal reward system of a collegiate institution supports a concern for teaching and student development, the informal, but powerful, academic culture of the institution may support a different emphasis. Thus, the young faculty member is placed in a motivational dilemma: should he/she meet one set of important needs associated with security and institutional commitment, or another set of important needs which are associated with peer affiliation and status? Compounding this dilemma is the young faculty member's developmental concerns about identity and entry into the adult world.

Third, the Wright Institute staff are clearly proponents of an "interactional" model of human motivation (see Appendix B, Section III). The development of a faculty member cannot be fully understood except in the context of the academic culture in which this faculty member resides. Faculty will be motivated to teach

only when the institution not only allows the faculty member to expand his/her teaching interests through creation of a supportive academic culture, but also assists the faculty member to engage in this growth through provision of mechanisms for personal, professional and organizational development (cf. Bergquist and Phillips, 1975).

Having arrived at an interactional model of faculty motivation, we will now turn our primary attention to research and theory that describes the extrinsic source of faculty motivation and the external forces that influence the overall job satisfaction/ dissatisfaction of faculty in an academic culture.

Section IV: Extrinsic Sources of Faculty Motivation

As we look to the external sources of motivation for faculty, most of the research concerns the sources of job satisfaction and dissatisfaction for faculty, rather than sources of encouragement or discouragement specifically for college teaching. The one exception is the rather extensive study by Wilson, Gaff and their associates at the Center for Research and Development (Berkeley, California) on college teachers and their impact on students (Wilson, et al., 1975). During the winter of 1968-69, a research team from the center surveyed 1069 faculty from six institutions regarding a number of issues in higher education. The faculty were asked to indicate the importance they felt should be given to certain criteria for salary and promotion. Faculty from five of the institutions (University of California, Davis; Hofstra College; Bard College; University of Puget Sound; Chabot College) indicated that teaching effectiveness should be given the most weight. The faculty at California State University at Los Angeles, however, indicated that equal importance should be given to research activities and teaching effectiveness. Only thirty-nine percent of the respondents at Cal State Los Angeles were convinced that their effectiveness as teachers "was of high importance in actual practice" and again, the faculty at Cal State LA were the only respondents who viewed scholarly activity "as the primary

vehicle of advancement." Given that the primary mission of the CSUC system is teaching, this is potentially a rather disturbing result.

When Wilson and Gaff (Wilson, et al., 1975, p. 24-25) examined alternative styles of teaching, they discovered another difference peculiar to the state college:

> Teaching at the state college cannot be adequately characterized as either subject-matter-oriented or student-centered. On almost all questionnaire items concerning teaching practices, the percentages of responses of faculty members at the state college fell between those of the other two types of schools (university or community college). Yet these responses do not seem to comprise a genuine alternative approach; the approach contains elements of the other two approaches. It has been suggested by other research...that state colleges have not developed a unified purpose or role. This may be because the state college draws faculty from a more diverse pool than do either the university or community college. ...Many of (the state college's) faculty are really university oriented and wish to maintain themselves as subject-matter specialists and researchers. Many of them are more like community college teachers who have little interest in research and are more student-centered in their teaching.

Wilson and Gaff (1975, p. 25) go on to state that:

> Some evidence of the frustrated upward aspiration of many of these state college faculty can be found in the fact that they see deficiencies in their students...The university faculty are relatively more satisfied with their students, probably because the students are actually less deficient in these ways, and the community college faculty are more satisfied because they do not hold high expectations for their students in these areas. But the state college faculty seem to have higher aspirations (. . . while believing that their students are not particularly interested in ideas. . .

The implications to be drawn from these finds are of course highly relevant for a study of faculty motivation being done in the California State University and Colleges system. Unfortunately, the data are now somewhat dated; hence, we do not know if they are still applicable. Assuming that the data still hold some

credibility, then several critical issues come immediately to the surface. First, the "dream" of the Cal. State faculty member appears to be viable, yet troublesome given the priorities of the institution in which he/she teaches and the nature of the student population he/she is to serve. The discrepancy between dream and reality may be an important source of job dissatisfaction and may precipitate a particularly stressful mid-life transition in the late 30's for faculty in this system.

Secondly, the discrepancy between academic culture and formal institutional rewards of which we spoke in the previous section, may be particularly noteworthy in the CSUC system. Third, teaching does not appear to be an activity which faculty in the CSUC system find inherently motivating. Thus, in order to increase the interest of CSUC faculty in teaching one will apparently either have to replace the current faculty (an impractical and disastrous alternative), or identify those specific aspects of teaching which faculty do find motivating and encourage faculty to effectively integrate this aspect with less interesting aspects of their teaching.

One can, of course, reward faculty for their teaching by giving them a larger salary, improved working conditions (e.g., bigger offices) or less work. Yet as we shall see in the research studies we are about to review, this type of reward does decrease job dissatisfaction, but does not provide the type of job satisfaction that is needed to increase productivity.

In a study of job satisfaction among faculty, Arthur Cohen (1974) asked 222 community college faculty from 12 colleges to differentiate those aspects of their job which made them feel satisfied, and those aspects which made them feel dissatisfied. Over two-thirds of the respondents identified student learning or interaction with students as primary factors leading to satisfaction. Conversely, over two-thirds of the respondents identified administrative, collegial and/or organizational diffculties as factors leading to job dissatisfaction.

John Morris (1972) examined job satisfaction and dissatisfaction among faculty in nine liberal arts colleges. His findings suggest that faculty find job satisfaction or no job satisfaction as a result of factors that are intrinsic to the work process. Respondents also identified extrinsic factors as reasons for job dissatisfaction or lack of job dissatisfaction. Charles Aebi (1972) also tested the Herzberg Two-Factor Theory of Motivation in his assessment of job attitudes of faculty and administrators at fifteen private church-related liberal arts colleges. Aebi found that for college educators all motivators (sources of intrinsic motivation) contribute more to job satisfaction than to job dissatisfaction, and that all "hygienes" (extrinsic motivation) contribute more to job dissatisfaction than to job satisfaction. Work itself was identified as the course of greatest satisfaction and working conditions were found to be the greatest source of dissatisfaction. Aebi also found that the Herzberg theory was applicable to faculty but not to administrators, and that the theory was least applicable to women, faculty over sixty years old, and faculty making under $6000 per year.

Section V: Concluding Observations

The total amount of information that is currently available about faculty motivation is certainly not impressive. While there are a large number of theories of human motivation which potentially could be of value in understanding the motives of faculty, few of these theories have been applied in a systematic manner to the issue. Those that have been applied, generally have been considered in a single article or research project. Only in the work of such men as Sanford, Freedman, Wilson, and Gaff do we find a consistent and persistent attempt to assess the nature of faculty attitudes, values and professional goals. A variety of other issues must be the focus of the future research, including faculty motivation, and a variety of other approaches to the investigation of faculty must be employed. In the following appendix we have listed several hypotheses that might be addressed in future research on faculty motivation. These hypotheses will, in turn, provide direction for the proposed research project on faculty motivation in the CSUC system.

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HYPOTHESES CONCERNING FACULTY MOTIVATION

1. The teaching styles of faculty will in part be determined by the personal needs which the faculty member expects to fulfill in the instructional setting. (Adelson, Mann, Axelrod).

2. The interest of faculty in teaching, and the effectiveness of faculty as teachers, is in part determined by the compatibility between the personal needs of faculty and the predominant personal needs of his/her students, and between the teaching style of faculty and the predominant learning style of students.

3. Certain professional development concerns of faculty are held commonly by faculty of the same age (Levinson-Hodgkinson).

4. Certain professional development concerns of faculty consistently precede and determine other developmental concerns among most faculty (Erikson-Loevinger-Ralph).

5. The developmental concerns of female and male faculty members will significantly differ at certain critical age levels (20-30, 40-50).

6. The academic culture within which faculty work will have a significant impact on the nature of professional growth of faculty through various stages, as well as their final level of developmental achievement. (Sanford, Freedman, et al.)

7. Satisfaction that is experienced by faculty, as teachers, will in large part be attributable to the gratifications that are inherent in the teaching-learning process (or some sub-part of this process), whereas, the absense of dissatisfaction with teaching is largely attributable to the existence of an academic culture that is supportive of the teaching profession (Herzberg-Sanford).

8. Faculty derive major satisfaction from teaching and interaction with students in ways that they do not directly appreciate or acknowledge. Only when these sources of satisfaction are not present (i.e., when the faculty member is not teaching) or when these satisfactions are probed (via in-depth interviews) do they become evident to the faculty member.

9. The interpersonal aspects of a faculty member's teaching style (Adelson, Mann, Axelrod) are closely interrelated with various aspects of their intellectual style: e.g., whether they give priority to and tend to begin with an assessment of a phenomenon in its totality (a macro perspective) or in its parts (a micro perspective); whether they give priority to and tend to begin with proximal (close, direct, subjective) appraisal of a phenomenon or with a distal (distant, indirect, objective) appraisal; whether they give priority to and tend to begin with an assessment of the phenomenological aspects of an event or object, or with an assessment of the structure that underlies and is revealed through this phenomenon.

10. No one teaching style in and of itself is most or least effective. An effective teacher has identified his own strengths as a teacher, and builds upon these strengths. The ineffective teacher is either unaware of his/her strengths or makes too extensive use of them (exaggerating the strengths to an extreme). The effective teacher, confronting a diversified student population, will be ecclectic with reference to style: he/she will continually expand his/her repertoire of teaching styles and strengths.